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## THE QUEST FOR LANGUAGE UNIVERSAL IS ON<sup>1</sup>

Al Q. Perez

Distinguished guest, Sec. Ople of the Department of Labour who is representing the President, Director Pineda of the Surian ng Wikang Pambansa, selected linguists, professors of language and educationists of participating nations, friends and fellow students of languages:

In 1972, to be exact, December 18-22, we started formally the language forum in Asia by staging and participating in the First Conference on Asian Languages. The countries that took part then: Malaysia, Indonesia, Japan, Thailand, Nationalist China, Israel and the host country - the Philippines. We discussed then the Language Policy and Language Development of Asian Countries as the theme of the conference. We could say with utmost humility that we achieved a degree of success in moving toward the goals of that language forum.

A tangible result of that forum has been the publication of the different papers dealing on the language policy and language development of the participating nations. Now you have that book with you.

But the more important fruit of that forum is the academic insight that we gained during the plenary sessions of the conference, which we could truly say was - immeasurable. Through those academic discussions and exchange of ideas regarding the varied language situations in this part of the world, at least we would claim, that we were able to enrich our perceptions regarding the language discipline of the Asian. And those of you who were present in that conference could attest to what I said.

The Asian indefatigably pursues his search for his indigenous identity through his quest for language universals, his is going in this direction

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<sup>1</sup>The Opening Address read at the opening of the Second Conference on Asian Languages held at the NSDB Conference Hall, on December 16, 1974.

because he is sure that man is better identified through his language.

And so my friends, we are gathered here in the same hall where we staged the First Conference on Asian Language to continue our quest for language universals. This is the beginning of the culmination in part of the several months and years of preparation for the continuation of the first concourse. The Second Conference on Asian Languages bears this: *THE STANDARDISATION OF ASIAN LANGUAGES*. We could say that this aspect of standardisation is one of the more difficult tasks to perform in language discipline. But it must be done. So we are going to commence this language forum with the following objectives clear in our mind's eye:

1. To know the status and progress of the development of language standardisation in Asian countries.
2. To assess the status of the standardisation of Asian languages.
3. To continue the discussion regarding Asian languages that was started in the First Asian Conference held in Manila on December 18-22, 1974.
4. To foster harmonious relationships among the peoples of Asia.
5. To surmount language barriers so as to enable Asians to be understood and accepted by other peoples as sharers of progress through language.

These are relevant to the welfare of the Asian who is trying to look sincerely for solutions to his varied problems in different fields of endeavour. And one of these problems is the language aspect which is playing a significant role in the discipline of education.

I would like to reiterate my hope and wish that I expressed two years ago in this same august body during the first language forum, that the affair would only be the beginning of more and bountiful discussions on Asian languages. And for the Second Conference on Asian Languages, I am happy to say again that in the future we hope we would be able to carry on a similar language forum, no matter how minimal the outcome may be with the very limited resources at our disposal, but with the utmost co-operation of all as you may have exhibited today. Let us show that we can pool our energies to come up with solutions on the language standardisation problems in this hemisphere with greater patience, understanding and efficiency than if we were to grapple with this problems separately and individually.

I thank you.



## NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND UNITY<sup>1</sup>

President Ferdinand E. Marcos

I am personally grateful that the socio-linguistic scholars of Asia concerned with national language development are gathered here for the second time in two years. Your first meeting in Manila in 1972, soon after the Philippines elected to go on a new path of development, has added a new dimension to the enlarging spectrum of regional co-operation in Asia. Today, you begin your second conference which will build on the success of the first. It is therefore a real pleasure for me to welcome you - I refer of course to the delegates from the other Asian countries - to our country. May I say that we are in a position to profit much from the exchange of national experiences and information on this crucial subject.

The national language question is inseparable from the larger question of nation-building in all its ramifications. Today, no matter what we call the process, nation-building is the overriding concern of every developing country in Asia. For instinctively as well as empirically; we know that a strong national unity and binding cohesion is the key to all achievements in all fields.

That is the reason why some of our countries are resolutely restructuring our respective societies. This objective, as I perceive it, is to break up the concentrations of power, to create a much broader base of popular participation in government and in development.

We therefore aim to re-establish democracy on broader, stronger and more enduring foundations. In our country one of the main instruments that is being utilized for this social re-organisation is agrarian

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<sup>1</sup>Speech at the Second Conference on Asian Languages sponsored by the Pambansang Samahan ng Linggwistikang Pilipino Ink., Surian ng Wikang Pambansa and the Asian Association on National Languages (ASANAL), NSDB Conference Hall, Manila, 16 December 1974)

reform together with the re-activation of our ancient barangay system, or social political participation of the people at grassroots level.

We know that similar efforts are taking place in our neighbouring countries. Thus, in Malaysia, a multi-racial country, the government concentrates on social restructuring through correcting the racial imbalances as a pre-condition to national unity and stability. This is also a major thrust of policies in Indonesia and Thailand. There is now more or less universal recognition of the fact that you cannot build lasting national unity on a foundation of rank inequality, where the accident of birth of race foreordains a man's place in society. The first task of nation-building therefore is to attack the problem of chronic instability at its roots, to recast the feudalistic framework of society and effect a real transfer of power from the few to the many. Only then we can enlarge, widen and permanently strengthen the foundations of our national cohesion and solidarity. Only then we can forestall the ever-present dangers of social disintegration and even civil war. Only then can we be sure of passing on to posterity the accumulated gains of our respective national development efforts.

It is in that context that we are compelled to recognize the possibility of a cultural feudalism which segregates the masses from participation in government and in development because of a language barrier between the elite and the people. Nations of course cope with this problem according to their differing backgrounds. In Indonesia, where the Dutch language remained a possession of a very tiny minority, they had the advantage of being presented, during their Revolution, with a clear-cut situation: Dutch had long ceased to have a major importance as a world language and Malay had been used in the coastal areas of the entire Malay archipelago, including the Philippines, for centuries. It was for them a relatively simple matter adopting Malay as the basis of their national language, known today as Bahasa Indonesia. The Malaysians and the Singaporeans also were in possession of this language, but their situation was much more ambiguous; they inherited, not a moribund international language, but a world language - English - which was fast gaining ascendancy across national and ideological barriers as the most useful lingua franca of all mankind.

But if the Malaysia dilemma was painful, the Philippine language dilemma was even more so. So the Philippines under the tutelage of the United States got its education almost entirely in the English language. Moreover, the divide-and-rule strategies of the colonizers since Legaspi took Manila in 1571 had made it impossible for one of the major native languages to gain nationwide acceptance as the national language.

It must be said in fairness that Tagalog became the natural language of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and to a lesser degree, of the first Philippine Republic in 1898. President Emilio Aguinaldo wrote his memoirs entirely in Tagalog. The seminal documents of the Revolution were written in Tagalog. This gave the basis for Dean C. Worcester, one of the American colonial administrators who also prided himself in being an ethnologist, to brand the Revolution and the first Philippine Republic as a "Tagalog military oligarchy". The wide and universal support enjoyed by the Revolution in the non-Tagalog areas of course belied this accusation and revealed the divisive nature of the colonial policies.

The imposition of English as the universal medium of instruction in the Philippine educational system, and as the language of government, commerce, sciences and the arts, curtailed the development of a national language. The Philippine Constitution of 1935 committed the nation in favour of a national language based on one of the native languages. This basis, of course, had to be Tagalog - the language of the primate city. Unfortunately, the absolute reign of the purists and the orthodox priests of this language further curtailed the development and acceptability of the national language. The new Constitution re-asserts the country's commitment to the adoption of a national language, but on the basis of a much more liberalized, more flexible and probably more representative language. There is no question that the framers of the Constitution do not envisage the complete discarding of all the gains already realized in developing a national language. We must build on our successes but must be fully instructed by our failures.

The Philippines, under the New Society, is re-affirming more strongly than before our commitment to national unity through a national language. It is my desire that the national language now known as Pilipino, but which will develop further to become Filipino, should now be firmly incorporated in all the college entrance examinations and in all the civil service examinations, as well as in the management development courses of the Development Academy of the Philippines. It is also my desire that the important documents of the State, from now on, should be published in two languages - both English and Pilipino. And it is also my desire to see Pilipino rapidly established as a medium of instruction together with English in appropriate courses in our higher institutions of learning. I direct the Department of Education and the Institute of National Language to take strong and immediate measures to implement these policies.

I spoke earlier of the possibility in our respective countries of a cultural feudalism which bifurcates a nation between a foreign language

- speaking elite and the masses of the people speaking their own native languages. Just as we are determined to recast the feudal structure of our society through agrarian reform and through labour reform, we are committed to the eradication of feudalism in culture. Our decision to broaden and strengthen the foundation of our national unity raises its implication for reforms in the field of language. The future Philippines should be one where the government and the people can communicate in a single medium easily mastered by the masses of the people, a language most identified with the struggles of the nation for independence and dignity, a language that will serve, like the flag itself, as a binding force for permanent national cohesion and solidarity at all levels of society.

There is no implication here that we are ready to renounce our possession of English as a world language. For Filipinos in the indefinite future, English will serve as the key to the storehouse of the world's knowledge, and in an age of knowledge explosion, it will be folly to renounce our comparative advantage in our possession of the English language. But this must always be seen in proper perspective. When we speak of holding on to English, we mean this will be cultivated and strengthened as our valued means of access to modern knowledge and information in all cultures. But this certainly does not imply that the farmer in the field and the fisherman in the sea have to devote a major portion of their lives learning to speak and write in a foreign language, when they can assimilate knowledge much more easily in the language they know best. Neither will this mean that a minority of highly educated, affluent and influential persons will continue to monopolize the channels of communication through their endowment of a foreign language, while denying the masses of the people access to the decision-making process.

The dilemmas I have stated are the same one as that, to a lesser or greater degree, face many of the developing countries in our region. Every nation will have to meet these dilemmas in its own way. But it certainly is useful to learn from our own neighbouring countries how they are coping with these problems in the context of their own nation-building objectives and aspirations. We in the Philippines can contribute from our own experience, but we are in a much better position to learn from our neighbouring countries. This gathering of scholars, experienced specialists involved with sensitive policies of national language development from all over Asia, can do much to illuminate the problem areas and derive conclusions and recommendations that can guide policy-makers in the region. May I repeat what I have said earlier: your conference opens up a new and necessary dimension to Asian regional

co-operation in the cultural and social fields, no less important than co-operation in the economic field.

Your theme is concerned with the standardisation of language but the larger principle behind it is the attainment of national unity for human development. I endorse the cause that has brought you here together. I welcome you warmly once again to our country and hope that you will find your visit not only productive but also pleasant. I wish your conference the utmost success.



## A DICTIONARY IN THE MAKING: STANDARDISATION OF PILIPINO/FILIPINO AND THE LAW

Ponciano B.P. Pineda

The decision to have and develop a Filipino National language was a policy mandated by the Constitution of 1934. Specifically, the Charter provided that "the National Assembly (Congress) shall take steps towards the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages."

It is very clear, therefore, that the language basis shall be one and not more. The conclusion is that the entirety of that one language shall be made the core, the nucleus.

To implement this policy, a law was passed establishing the Institute of National Language and defining its powers and duties. The Institute was directed to choose the native tongue to be used as basis for the national language and to recommend to the President of the Philippines the adoption of the national language based on that native tongue. The President shall then, by executive order, proclaim such national language based on the native tongue chosen by the National Language Institute (its name then) as the national language of the Philippines, effective two years thereafter. Upon such proclamation and within the allotted period of two years, the National Language Institute was to prepare and publish the dictionary and grammar of the national language.

As soon as the official grammar and dictionary came off the press, the standards to be followed in the further development of the national language were definitely established. That the rule was to be strictly followed was further decreed by the law creating the Institute: "... said national language shall be used and taught in all public and private schools of the Philippines in accordance with the dictionary and grammar prepared and published by the NLI;" and "the decision of the

NLI on all linguistic matters, when approved by the Secretary of Public Instruction, shall be adopted as literary standard in all official publications and school texts;" and, "the NLI ... shall have authority to correct, alter or amend the linguistic form of any or all textbooks written in the Philippine national language intended for adoption as official text in the schools."

The Institute was empowered, by implication, to choose or specify the language variety that was to be described in the grammar and whose elements were to be listed in the dictionary. To be sure, the variety of Tagalog spoken in Manila and Rizal that was recorded up to 1939 was set up as the standard. It was from that vantage point that the development and dissemination of the national language was launched with vigor. That the standards were not meant to be in a state of paralysis was predicted by the same law that we have been quoting from. It stipulates: "To enrich said vocabulary, the Institute shall use as a source primarily the Philippine tongues and then, if necessary, Spanish and English, adopting from these languages such terms as are already familiar to the Philippine tongues, having been accepted and being in general use in the same. Whenever it shall be indispensable to form new words, these shall be taken principally from the classical languages, such as Greek and Latin, especially for scientific, literary and technical uses. Foreign words thus newly formed shall be assimilated to Philippine phonetics and orthography: Provided, however, that the current spelling of family names of foreign origin and form used by Filipinos shall be preserved in order not to render the identification of persons difficult."

The law contains some provisions that defy a few tenets of modern linguistics as well as the dictates of enlightened language policies and practices. The INL has always been aware of these. So it somewhat relaxed the stringent standard rules that governed the enrichment and popularisation of the national language for more than three decades now. In fact, massive adoption and acquisition of lexical items from influencing languages is being encouraged.

Consonant with the demands for modernisation and heeding the clamors for either updated or new standards in spelling and vocabulary contents, the INL Board approved a resolution on October 4, 1971, modernising the alphabet of the national language. The 20-letter Abakada has been expanded to a 31-letter alphabet, thus: A, B, C, CH, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, LL, M, N, Ñ, NG, O, P, Q, R, RR, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z. The resolution states that the Abakada limits the capability of the national language to reach maximum development and dissemination, and that the



adoption of a 31-letter alphabet is necessary in the modern and progressive advancement of the national language. The decision, it is hoped, is a step towards making the national language responsive to the needs of modern living.

The Institute has for the past three years been preparing a dictionary that is aimed at modernizing the standards. I say "modernizing" instead of "new" because I don't believe that Pilipino in its present stage of development will ever be changed. This position is strengthened by the policy on bilingual education where Pilipino and English are decreed as parallel media of instruction from Grade 1 up to the university level. The step taken is more of recasting what have already been set forth and fortifying them with some of the reasonable demands, rather than outrightly negating the accomplishment of more than three decades and replacing it with a totally new approach - which is bad language planning practice.

It is my view that the lexicon or vocabulary of a language comprises the body of a particular language. In fact there is even the view that the vocabulary of a language is the language itself. This is the reason why non-Tagalogs are almost united in their demand that more words from their respective languages be included in the dictionary of the national language. Geared to this end, the Institute completed the composition of *A Dictionary of the Pilipino/Filipino Language*. This book is still undergoing some finishing touches. Let me give a summary of the principles governing the "creation" of this material.

1. Pilipino words born out of national experience and words pertaining to society, economy, practice of government, and citizen interaction within the country are entered.

balikbayan (Tg.)<sup>1</sup>, n. *the homecoming season of Filipinos abroad.*

barangay<sub>1</sub>, barangay<sub>2</sub>, balangay<sub>3</sub>, (lahat), n. 1. *a Presidential Decree No. 86 issued January, 1973 organising the Citizen's Assemblies to broaden the base of citizen participation in the democratic process and to afford ample opportunities for the citizenry to express views on important national issues.*

2. *In the 13th century it was a patriarchal form of government ruled by a datu or rajah. The smaller barangays were composed of 30 to 100 families, the bigger ones to upwards of 2,000 families.* 3. (original meaning) *sailboat used by Malays in fleeing the tyranny of the Sri Vishayan and Bornean Kingpin.*

<sup>1</sup>Language abbreviations are as follows:

Ar. - Arabic	Ing. - English	Sb. - Cebuano
Bk. - Bikol	Ints. -	S-L. - Samar-Leyte
Hap. - Japanese	Kast. - Spanish	Tau. - Tausug
Hlg. - Hilagaynon	Kpm. - Kapampangan	Tg. - Tagalog
Ibg. - Ibanag	Mar. - Marinduque	
Ilk. - Ilokano	Png. - Pangasinan	

bilingualism (Ing.), n. *habitual use of two languages especially in speaking.*

birthday (Ing.), n. *the day of one's birth.*

beauty parlour (Ing.), n. *a place where the quality and sense of a particular grace or charm are added.*

2. Words used in newspapers, radio, television, and all international communications involving Filipinos, including loan words from Chinese, Spanish, English and other foreign languages which are currently used in the eight major Philippine languages are included.

abenida (Kast.), Avenue (Ing.), n. *broad street.* - (lahat).

a,paw (Ints.), n. *puffed rice or corn.* - (lahat).

karate (Hap.), n. *the art of self-defense.* - (lahat).

sauna (Finnish), n. *a steam-bath treatment.* - (lahat).

smorgasbord (Swedish), n. *a meal featuring a varied number of dishes served buffet-style.* - (lahat).

3. Words for ideas without exact equivalents in Pilipino though found in only one of the native languages are main entries.

bulanon (Bk.), n. *full moon.*

intawon (Sb.), Intrj. *What a pity!*

inday (Hlg., S-L., Sb.), n. *affectionate address for a young girl.*

jihad (Mar.), n. *Religious War.*

Ramadan (Ar.), n. *the ninth month of the Mohammedan year; the fasting month.*

4. Indigenous words with different meanings and with intended or amusing meanings in the dialects are listed.

baba (S-L.), baba (Hlg., Sb.), n. *mouth.*

baba (Kpm., Png., Tg.), n. *chin.*

bayag (Ilk., Png.), n. *prolongated duration of time.*

bayag (Tg.), n. *scrotum.*

langgam (Sb.), n. *birds.*  
(Tg.), n. *ant.*

sira (Bk.), n. *fish.*  
(Tg.), cadj. *destroyed.*

wala (Png.), adv. *there is.*

wala (Tg.), adv. *none.*

5. Words with different spelling but with the same meaning are grouped with a main word entry.

paano, papaano, pano (Bk., Hlg., Tg.), adv. *how.*

almirol, almidol, armirol (Kast.), n. *starch for laundry.*

anwaryo (Kast.), annual (Ing.), n. 1. *yearly report.* 2. *school yearbook or annual souvenir of graduates.*

pahuway, pahulay (S-L., Sb.), n. *relaxation.*

pasan, pas-an (Bk., Hlg., S-L, Sb., Tg.), adj. *carried on the shoulder.*

6. Words commonly found in at least three languages appear as synonyms of word entries except when such forms appear in Tagalog<sup>1</sup> but with a different meaning.

- kalipas (Hlg., S-L., Sb.), n. *joy, happiness*. (Tg.) tuwa, ligaya.  
 kaluoy (Hlg., S-L., Sb.), n. *pity, mercy*. (Tg.) awa.  
 kamag-anak (Kpm., Tg., Tau.), n. *relative, kin*. (Ilk.) kabagyan, (Png.) kanayon, (Tau.) kampung.  
 kamingaw (Hlg., S-L., Sb.), n. *melancholy, solitariness, loneliness*. (Tg.) panglaw.  
 kasingkasing (Hlg., S-L., Sb.), n. *heart*. (Bk., Kpm., Ilk., Png., Tg.) puso.

7. As much as possible, peculiar phonological sounds of indigenous languages are retained in the word entries.

- avú (Ibg.), n. *ashes*.  
 alutəng (Ilk.), n. *firebrand of glowing wood*.  
 binuvvúg (Ibg.), n. *rice porridge*.  
 kombalet (Png.), adj. *simulatedly*.  
 jantung (Tau.), n. *heart*.

8. As far as possible, variations in pronunciation and stress of a particular word are included.

- bal), balî (Hlg., Tg., Tau.), adj. *fracture; a break along a length*.  
 balo, balo, balu, balu (Bk., Hlg., Ibg., Ilk., Png., S-L., Sb., Tg., Tau.), n. *widow, widower*.  
 bana, baná (Hlg., Sb., Tau.), n. *husband*.  
 bias, biyás (Kpm., Hlg., Tg.), n. *internode; bamboo joint*.

9. Words similar in form but different in use/meaning are clearly shown.

- agay-ay<sub>1</sub> (Tg.), n. *atmosphere; ambient air; breeze*.  
 agay-ay<sub>2</sub> (Hlg.), n. *tiny worms that feed on spoiled husked rice and bread*.  
 babag<sub>1</sub> (Sb.), n. *hindrance; obstacle around*.  
 babag<sub>2</sub> (Tg.), n. *impact; collision; clash*.  
 babag<sub>3</sub> (Tg.), n. *scuffle; fight*.  
 kabyaw<sub>1</sub> (Tg.), n. *milling of sugarcane*.  
 kabyaw<sub>2</sub> (Hlg., Sb.), n. *blanket fish net*.

10. All Spanish loan words, except proper nouns, are assimilated into phonology and orthography of Pilipino.

- abaniko (Kast.), n. *folding fan*.  
 bakasyon (Kast.), n. *vacation*.  
 kabesera, kabisera (Kast.), n. 1. *position at the head of a table (usually at meal)*. 2. *the capital (town or city) of a province or country*.

<sup>1</sup>Tagalog continues to be the basis of Pilipino/Filipino.

dekano (Kast.), n. *dean*.

multa (Kast.), n. *fine*.

11. Terminologies in English that are now accepted in the country and are stable in the lexicons of the indigenous languages appear without alterations in their original spelling, provided, that assimilable words from English and other foreign languages are spelled in Pilipino, except where the spelling of these words already conform to the pronunciation and spelling of Pilipino.

advertisement (Ing.), n. *public notice*.

balcony (Ing.), n. *projecting platform with an entrance from an upper floor of a building*.

bankbook (Ing.), n. *a depositor's book in which a bank records his accounts*.

chess (Ing.), n. *game played by two persons on a chequered board divided into 64 squares*.

factory (Ing.), n. *a building in which goods are manufactured*.

12. Proper nouns are spelled in accordance with the existing rule: spelling in the source language is retained.

Alah (Ar.), n. *Moslem God*.

Juan (Kast.), n. *Juan*.

John (Ing.), n. *John*.

Jesuit (Ing.), n. *a member of the Society of Jesus, a Roman Catholic Order*.

13. Words beginning with the letters c, f, j, q, v, and z follow y, the last letter of the Abakada.

carbarn (Ing.), n. *a shed for housing streetcars*.

fashion (Ing.), n. *mode, vogue*. 2. *the way a thing is shaped or made*.

jogging (Ing.), v. *to run at a steady slow trot*.

quintuplet (Ing.), n. *any group of combination of five, five offspring born at birth*.

view (Ing.) *the act of seeing or viewing*.

zerox (Ing.), n. *an apparatus for making photographic copies of drawings, maps, etc., without a negative or prepared paper; a trade-mark name*.

zoo (Ing.), n. *a place where animals are kept and shown*.

Quite deaf to the dissatisfaction expressed by some groups to the position of the INL, the Institute started some two years ago a project that it calls the 'Manila Dialect Survey'.

Subjects were taken at random from a representative school or institution, business sections, mass media and homes. For the student population five universities, three high schools and five elementary schools were surveyed. Business sections covered public markets,

department stores, offices and industrial establishments. For the mass media, television programmes, radio programmes, newspapers and magazines were covered. Home survey included house to house interviews which were tape-recorded, transcribed and then analyzed. Several television and radio programmes were listened to, recorded and taped, then transcribed, and included in the materials analyzed.

The survey is not yet through and the analysis of taped materials is still in progress. At this stage, however, we have come up with a preliminary statement regarding the present state of the Manila Dialect. The result is only a portion of the materials gathered. It is also significant to state that representative subjects are somewhat sophisticated since they represent mostly the schools and some government offices. A portion of the report shows:

Place of Interview	No. of Subjects	No. of words
Padre Gomez Elementary School	17	2470
Department of Health	17	2808
House of house survey	18	5720
Historical Commission	7	1470
Salvador Elementary School	12	1295
University of the East	23	2204
Legarda Elementary School	22	1900
Magsaysay High School	13	1129
	<u>129</u>	<u>18996</u>

#### SUMMARY:

	Words	Percentage
Tagalog	10,828	57%
English	5,128	27%
Spanish	2,660	14%
Other languages (dialect)	<u>380</u>	<u>2%</u>
Total	<u>18,996</u>	<u>100%</u>

It is clear from the above tabulation that the Manila Dialect is still Tagalog in core. Other languages (dialects) represent Tagalog forms that are cognate with other Philippine languages. So that it may also be stated that Tagalog actually comprises 59% of the materials analyzed.

The occurrence of the phonemes /f, v, z/ (they are absent in the Abakada) is very limited and is perhaps due to the phonological pressures of English and other foreign languages and probably of other minor

dialects in the country that have these sounds. They occur mostly in names of persons and places.

The above findings support the idea of formalizing the inclusion of said letters in the modernised Abakada and, therefore, inevitable changes in the spelling rules.

Let me conclude this paper by reiterating my position that the standards of Pilipino are not being totally discarded or replaced, but that they are being updated or modernised to meet the challenges of the future. By the process introduced in the new dictionary, Pilipino shall transform to Filipino, the language conceived under the new Constitution as reiterated by the President in his keynote address to this Conference.

# THE CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE

S. Takdir Alisjahbana

## 1. STANDARDISATION AS PROBLEM OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

In its very essence the problem of standardisation is the problem of social behaviour through which the individual communicates with its fellow members in the social group, because it is in the interaction within the social group that the members of the group need a basic uniformity of behaviour and concept, so that there is understanding and communication between them. Only through common forms of behaviour based on common concepts is it possible to arrive at a certain social integration, i.e. that the social group becomes efficiently organised to achieve its goals, its system of values. In this connection all social behaviour in an integrated social group is standardised behaviour. Through this standardised behaviour the members of the group can act and behave with a certain confidence and efficiency within the social group. Everyone knows the meaning of the behaviour of his fellow members, and also knows how his fellow members will react or respond to his behaviour. In this sense standardised behaviour within a certain integrated group is the generally expected behaviour.

In every society the generally expected behaviour is determined by social norms. In a face to face relationship within a primary group or *Gemeinschaft* the norms take the form of mores and folkways. In a modern social group, which is also called secondary group or *Gesellschaft*, above the mores and folkways develop the more abstract and consciously created laws and other regulations. It is through these mores, folkways and laws with the threat of their sanctions, that the social group determines the behaviour of its members, and thus achieves its values.

Viewed from the standpoint of social behaviour in the broadest sense,

every language as part of the totality of social behaviour of an integrated social group is standardized, because it is only through a certain uniformity in the use of words and language rules that the members of the social group can understand and communicate with each other efficiently. In this sense the rules of the grammar of a certain language are only part and parcel of the norms and especially of the mores and folkways of society.

## 2. THE STANDARDISATION OF MODERN LANGUAGES

Is the standardized character of the small tribe or clan language in a small social group within a limited area an obvious fact, because of the dense interaction and communication between the language speakers, the rise of the great national languages in Europe and later in the Asian countries, stretching out over extended areas and inhabited by people speaking different dialects and sometimes even languages, did bring about problems of conscious and purposeful standardisation. For the large European languages like English, German, French, Italian etc., which were established during the centuries after the Renaissance parallel to the creation of larger social units of nations, we know that besides political and administrative factors, progress in the means of transportation and communication, especially the invention of the printing press and the translation of the Bible have played an important role towards the unification and standardisation of these languages.

The problem of standardisation in a stricter sense, like the creation of a standard of correct language usage, became especially accute in Europe in the eighteenth century. It was according to Albert C. Baugh an age of which one of the first characteristics was "a strong sense of order and the value of regulation. Adventurous individualism and the spirit of independence characteristic of the previous era give way to a desire for system and regularity. This involves conformity to a standard that the consensus of opinion recognizes as good."<sup>1</sup> It was this intellectual tendency which was "seen quite clearly in the eighteenth century efforts to standardise, refine and fix the English language. In the period under consideration discussion of the language takes a new turn. Previously interest had been shown chiefly in such questions as whether English was worthy to be used for writings in which Latin had long been traditional, whether the large additions being made to the vocabulary were justified, and whether a more adequate

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<sup>1</sup>Albert C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956, p.313.



system of spelling could be introduced. Now for the first time attention was turned to the grammar, and it was discovered that English had no grammar".<sup>1</sup> About the regularisation of the language through grammar the second half of the eighteenth century showed great progress. "Whereas fewer than fifty writings on grammar, rhetoric, criticism, and linguistic theory have been listed for the first half of the eighteenth century, and still fewer for all the period before 1600, the publication in the period 1750-1800 exceeded two hundred titles. And most of these were concerned in whole or in part with solecisms, barbarisms, improprieties, and questions of precision in the use of English."<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of compulsory education in the European countries in the last century has finally stabilised the position of the standard languages until our age.

### 3. PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION OF THE YOUNG ASIAN NATIONS

Parallel problems were faced when the Asian countries since the last century awoke through their contact with European societies and cultures. The Asian people, the colonized as well as the independent ones, gradually realized that their defeat or weakness vis-à-vis the Europeans was caused by the weaknesses and inadequacies in their own societies and cultures. They had to change many of their basic attitudes, concepts and ways of life, if they wanted to participate in the scientific, economic and technological progress of the modern world. This consciousness increased even more, when many of their children attended English, French, Dutch schools, etc. in Asia as well as in Europe. We all know that as a result of this education national movements started in the various countries of Asia, aiming at the liberation from their colonial masters, and their participation in the progress of the modern world. These facts suddenly dynamized the Asian societies and cultures. Viewed from the standpoint of their integration these societies and cultures lost their tranquility and uniformity. Many of the behaviours and institutions which in traditional society were considered true, good, beautiful, even holy, lost their values in the light of the new ideals and ways of thinking. A new generation which through its modern education has arrived at a new system of values, and a new way of life comes to the foreground. The changes which in Europe had taken place gradually since the Middle Ages from

<sup>1</sup> Albert C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956, p.314.

<sup>2</sup> Sterling Andrus Leonard, *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage, 1700-1800*. New York, 1962, p.12.

an expressive culture, i.e. a culture oriented towards religious and aesthetic values based on feeling, intuition, and imagination, into a progressive modern culture dominated by science, economics and technology, are taking place in Asia in a relatively short time. The whole society and culture is in rapid change, even in revolution.

#### 4. THE INDONESIAN LINGUISTIC SITUATION

I have tried to describe this situation in Indonesia of the last century in my collection of essays *Indonesia: Social and Cultural Revolution*.<sup>1</sup> In the great process of *Umwertung aller Werte* the language problems as part and especially as medium of the social and cultural revolution take more gigantic proportions.

There is first of all the Indonesian linguistic situation, resulting from the character of the country as an archipelago covering one-seventh of the equator, consisting of thousands of islands, of which the largest are subdivided again into many small isolated parts. During the centuries not less than two hundred and fifty languages and dialects have come into being, although most of them belong to the Malay or Indonesian language group, which is again a part of the larger Malay-Polynesian or Austronesian language group. In the intercourse and communication between the various groups speaking various languages in the Indonesian archipelago, a certain *lingua franca* gradually came into being, which had its source in the Malay language, the language of the most restless wandering people in South-East Asia. As the *lingua franca* in such an extended area, it was not possible for the Malay language to be a standardized language. It was a language which through its simple structure quickly adjusted itself not only to the situation in the harbour and the market place, but which easily has tolerated a mixture with local languages and dialects, as well as with foreign languages.

In the haphazard and superficial encounters in commerce, politics etc. between people speaking different languages, there was no need for a language with a clear standard of correct usage. This need made itself manifest only much later, at the time that the Dutch colonial government through the expansion of the colonial administration, considered it necessary to build schools for Indonesians, in order to function as medium of instruction in schools the Malay language needed to be standardised. It was the great merit of Ch. A. van Ophuysen, who was able to standardise the spelling, the word structure, as well as

<sup>1</sup>S. Takdir Alisjahbana, *Indonesia: Social and Cultural Revolution*. Kuala Lumpur etc., Oxford University Press, 1969. pp-56-69.

the syntax of the Malay language, which under the name of school- or high-Malay dominated the language of schools and administration during four decades of this century.

This standardised school- or high-Malay of the early decades of this century, however, although important as forerunner of the Indonesian language, was still very limited. It was the medium of instruction in primary schools, in training colleges for teachers for schools outside Java and in the Malay area around Jakarta. In some primary and secondary schools in Java, Malay was incidentally also taught as a subject. Although it could be considered the second official language in the Dutch East Indies, its influence in Indonesian society at large, and especially in circles of Indonesian elite, was negligible. The language used by the press and in meetings of political and other institutions was still of the character of the unstandardised Malay lingua franca, with great variations in vocabulary and rules of grammar. The real official language and that of modern culture of that time was undoubtedly the Dutch language. For large groups of Indonesians it opened the road not only for leading and better paid positions in the colonial hierarchy, but it also gave the possibility for further study and means to participate in the progress of science, economics, technology of the modern world. Small wonder that it was especially this education in the Dutch language, which was the aspiration of the Indonesian middle class, so that very soon it became clear, that the Dutch government was not able to provide for the growing need of Indonesians for Dutch education. Meanwhile a large Dutch group in the colonial society realized that Dutch modern education, instead of bringing a more stable and peaceful relation in the colony, on the contrary threatened to create more and more dissatisfaction in the circles of the educated Indonesian group, which claimed more and more political, economic and other rights. Moreover this group started to become afraid that the Indonesian elite would gradually push it aside from its privileged political and economic position in the colony.

##### 5. THE BIRTH OF THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE AND ITS EARLIER DEVELOPMENT

The limited availability of Dutch education for Indonesians at the end of the twenties had made many Indonesians gradually realized that education through the Dutch language never would reach the great mass of their people. The growing conviction that only through the unity of the Indonesian people would it be possible to build up a force strong enough to face the colonial power, forced the Indonesians to look out for another language, which could unite all the people of Indonesia. It was this conviction which resulted in the well-

known oath of the Indonesian youth of October 28, 1928, of one country, one nation and one language, all called Indonesian.

For the political aim of uniting the Indonesian people, the Indonesian language undoubtedly proved to be a good solution, but it was clear from the outset that as the language of education from primary school until university, and especially as the language of science, economics and technology oriented modern culture, it could by far not bear comparison with the Dutch language. Although some improvement had been made during the thirties in the language, especially as the language of modern literature and social communication, it was not earlier than during the Japanese occupation that Indonesian was confronted with its task as the language of school, administration and modern communication. It was at that time that it started to face the problem of standardisation, which to a certain extent was only a part of the process of modernisation.

The first problem of standardisation the language was confronted with was in the schools, when suddenly Dutch was forbidden. Indonesian had suddenly to fulfill the role of a full-fledged modern language as medium of instruction from primary school until university. A committee came into being which had the task to translate in the shortest possible time all Dutch textbooks for junior and senior high schools. It was especially in translating various textbooks that the need was felt for a systematic coining and standardisation of new terms, so that within a short time the translators, later added by a team of experts and other interested people, decided to come together regularly to discuss and to co-ordinate the terms of the various school subjects. Soon, however, in the other fields such as administration, law, medicine, mining, agriculture etc. the need was also felt for a systematic coining and standardisation of terms. As it was also in the interest of the Japanese administration to improve the Indonesian language, it could not escape to establish an extensive committee for dealing with modernisation and standardisation of the Indonesian language. This committee was the *Komisi Bahasa Indonesia*, which was established in 1942. Its task was to improve the language for its broadening function after the elimination of the Dutch language.

To lend this committee high prestige its membership included not only the most prominent Indonesian writers, linguists and cultural leaders, but also political celebrities, such as Sukarno and Hatta. Hatta himself was for many years personally active as chairman of the section in charge of scientific and technical terminology. I functioned as secretary of the committee and at the same time as Head of the Language Office, which prepared and acted upon the committee's decisions.

The committee was from the beginning divided into three sections for the tasks of:

1. determining a new technical and scientific terminology,
2. writing a new grammar, and
3. selecting words of daily usage.

The section for determining technical and scientific terminology was of course the most important and urgent. Its task was concrete and limited to scope. Several persons already engaged in translating Dutch textbooks were able to provide the committee with list of Dutch terms and some tentative Indonesian equivalents. To complete these lists the committee asked the teachers who taught various subjects in schools, to submit lists of terms used during the initial months after the schools had been re-opened. In this way the Committee had at its disposal several lists of terms of e.g. botany as they were provisionally used in schools. The task of the staff of the secretary at the language office was to compare the various Indonesian terms, to subject them to severe criticism, and to try to collect other relevant information from additional sources. As a rule the staff then made a choice between various terms in the lists, but occasionally introduced new words which were considered more satisfactory. The new list of terms arrived at through this process was sent to the botany teachers in Jakarta. About a week thereafter the Committee invited them to a meeting for a preliminary decision on these terms, with other people who by profession or for other reasons were considered competent in botany. The group attending this first session was called the sub-section of botany, consisting of persons with the same subject of study or interest. The decision of this meeting was mimeographed and sent to the members of the section on terminology for a second decision at a higher level. The section on terminology had to decide on all technical and scientific terms, and consisted therefore of members from different branches of learning and occupation. The words decided upon in a given sub-section were studied and co-ordinated with the terms decided upon in other sub-sections, e.g. in that of zoology etc. After a certain number of lists dealing with different subjects had been decided upon in this section, the secretary would arrange a plenary meeting of the committee, where the terms were formally confirmed. The first set of terms arrived at in this way was published by the Japanese military authorities in the official Government Gazette and thus received the official sanction of the Japanese government.

The selection and determination of words of daily usage was important, since so many words from dialects, regional or foreign languages penetrated into the Indonesian language. As has been said, already as

*lingua franca* the Indonesian language had adjusted itself to local, regional and foreign languages in the whole of Indonesia. Thus the question is relevant which words could be considered belonging to the generally accepted Indonesian language, and which words should still be considered as foreign, regional or dialectal elements. The committee in charge of the selection and determination of words in daily usage looked through the vocabulary of newspapers, and other mass media, of books etc. There are of course many words which without discussion were accepted as Indonesian words. In the period of transition all high- or school-Malay words of the list of Van Ophuysen were accepted as the core of the Indonesian vocabulary, although later some of them fell in disuse. Many words, however, still bear the mark of the Jakarta dialect, the Javanese, Minangkabau, Dutch, English language etc. If such a word was encountered the committee could decide that it already belonged to the accepted Indonesian vocabulary. This committee was especially necessary, since the school Malay of the list of Van Ophuysen was very limited, consisting of not more than 10,130 words, while some of the school teachers at that time rejected the words which were not on the list. It is clear that in the fast expanding vocabulary of daily usage through the tremendous expansion of Indonesian, this committee was not very useful, since it could not keep pace with the speed of the growth of the language. What was really needed was a descriptive dictionary, registering and explaining the most common words. It is also clear that such a dictionary must be revised regularly in a short span of time. In the further development of the planning of the Indonesian language this Committee was not continued.

## 6. A REFORMULATION OF THE CONCEPT OF STANDARDISATION

The attempts for the determination of the modern Indonesian terminology and the selection and determination of the acceptable Indonesian words are clear efforts for the standardisation of the Indonesian language. Standardisation in this sense, however, is only a determination of uniform usage. But in the context of language planning - or in the terminology I usually use of language engineering - it is necessary at this point to discern at least two levels of standardisation.

The English spelling for example is a standardised spelling, since we can say without exaggeration that every educated Englishman pronounces and writes the English words in the same way. But if for example we compare how the various phonemes are written in English, we discover that the spelling is not standardised, because the phoneme /ə/ is written in English as: *a* in *alone*, *ai* in *mountain*, *e* in *system*, *eo* in

*dungeon*, *i* in *easily*, *ia* in *parliament*, *o* in *gallop*, *oi* in *porpoise*, *ou* in *curious*, *u* in *circus*. Viewed from this point there is also no standardisation in the relation between the pronunciation and writing of the English words: *I* and *eye*, *son* and *sun*, are pronounced in the same way, although the written images are quite different. It is already a known fact, that there are very few rules for the writing of English words, that there exist no relation between the English pronunciation and its written form. In this sense we nearly can say, that the English language does not take advantage of the simplicity and efficiency of the Latin alphabet with its twenty six letters for its phonemic system. The written English words are nearly comparable to the Chinese script: one must know how a word is written as a totality. An analysis of phonemes and letters will not be of much help. For its 40 phonemes it has about 2000 symbols. English educationalists have already since long complained about the burden, which the English children have to bear in learning to read the English language. They calculated that through the fact that there is no intimate relationship between pronunciation and spelling, the English child needs up to two years more than children of other nations with a more regular spelling of their languages, to command the simple art of reading.<sup>1</sup>

## 7. THE INDONESIAN WORD AND SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

In the standardisation of their language the young countries of Asia have to aspire a higher level of standardisation, so that their language will be much simpler and easier to learn than English. The English words, for example, do not have a characteristic structure or pattern, and foreign words which have been accepted during the centuries more or less retain their original phonemic structure or spelling. With regards to the Indonesian language, it is still possible to determine its word structure on the basis of the simple Malay word pattern. As an agglutinative language its words show a very simple structure, which changes only by adding a limited number of clearcut syllables or morphemes. According to the hypotheses of Brandstetter<sup>2</sup> and Dempwolff<sup>3</sup> on the structure of the syllables of Ur - or prime-Indonesian, the

<sup>1</sup> Compare J.A. Downing, *To be or not to be. The augmented Roman alphabet*. London, 1962; Axel Wijk, *Regularized English*. Stockholm, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> R. Brandstetter, *Wurzel und Wort in den indonesischen Sprachen* (Monographien zur indonesischen Sprache VI). Luzern, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> O. Dempwolff, 'Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes', *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* XV, XVII, XIX, Beihefte 1934-1938.

Indonesian words were originally mono-syllabic like Chinese. The mono-syllabic words developed according to their theory into poly-syllabic one through the addition of affixes, by multiplication and by composition.

In counting the syllables of the present Indonesian words in the dictionaries of St. Moh. Zain and Purwadarminta a study of Mr. Sudarno<sup>1</sup> revealed that the great majority of Indonesian words consists of two and three syllables (75% and 18%). Mono-syllabic words are an exception and very often related to onomatopae, interjections, while four syllabic words are derivatives through the addition of affixes, or compound words through combinations. Another possibility is that they are loan words, for example from Sanskrit etc.

The further development of the Indonesian vocabulary should retain this simple structure as far as possible in the creation of new words or in the assimilation of words from the dialects, and from regional or foreign languages.

It seems that Van Ophuysen in his *Kitab Arti Logat Melayu* at the turn of the century, already realized the simplicity and regularity of the Indonesian word pattern, because in his word list only two and three syllabic words are included, with a few exceptions.

More simple is even the structure or pattern of the syllables of the Indonesian words. It has only four possibilities:

V in a-kan, su-a-ra, ba-u.

CV in ka-mi, me-ja, sa-ya.

VC in is-lam, mu-ak.

CVC in han-tam, hen-dak, pan-tang.

In sharp contrast to the Indo-European languages like Dutch, English and German, the Indonesian syllables do not show any consonant clusters. These four syllabic forms are further limited by the fact that mute e /ə/ cannot be used in open or closed end-syllables.

The acceptance of so many words from the dialects and regional languages through the rapid spread of the Indonesian language throughout Indonesia, and the acceptance of so many words from modern languages through the contact with modern culture, has during the last decades threatened to destroy the easy and simple Indonesian word- and syllabic structure. An avalanche of consonant clusters are introduced by these new loan words. From the Javanese language words such as *klana*, *kliru*, *prabot*, *trap*, *trampil*, *swara*, *swasa*, *kopyor*, are accepted in Indonesian. From Dutch and English: *blouse*, *crediet/credit*, *glas/glass*, *klas/class*, *proces/process*, *spiraal/spiral*, *stop* etc.

<sup>1</sup>Sudarno, *Persoalan bunyi dan tatabunyi bahasa Indonesia serta usaha pembakuannya* (mimeographed).



Since the syllabic structures of Indonesian words are related to the phonemic change in the words through the addition of the prefix *me-*, the consonant clusters at the beginning of the words pose some problems, as is testified by the following examples: The prefix *me-* changes the phoneme *k* of the words *kirim*, *kejar*, into a kind of nasalisation *mengirim*, *mengejar*. The word *kritik* deriving from the Dutch *kritiek* or the English *critique*, when acquiring the prefix *me-* becomes *mengritik* / *mengkritik*. If the word, however, becomes first adjusted to the Indonesian word structure: *keritik*, the prefixation will follow regularly the Indonesian affixation pattern: *mengeritik*. Analogical to this the English word *stop*, adjusted to the Indonesian word structure becomes *se-top*. The nasalisation with the prefix *me-* should then be *menyetop*, analogical to *sebut*, which becomes *menyebut*. Since there are no mute *e*-s in the last syllables of the Indonesian words, Javanese words like *catet*, *sedep*, *mantep*, become *catat*, *sedap*, *mantap* in Indonesian. The same goes for the Dutch words *kamer*, *schoener*, which in Indonesian become *kamar*, *sekonar*. The mute *e* in open syllables also becomes *a* in Indonesian. Thus the Dutch words *acte*, *analyse*, becomes *akta*, *analisa*. If this structure is maintained in the new accepted and adjusted loan words, the Indonesian language will be able to maintain its simple word and syllabic structure throughout its total vocabulary. On the basis of these rules everybody can enrich the Indonesian language, irrespective of the origin of the new accepted words. Thus the English words *apple* (Dutch *appel*), *charter*, *palm*, *nationalism* (Dutch *nationalisme*) can easily be accepted in Indonesian as *apal*, *cartar*, *nasionalisma*, *palma*.

There still remain the new loan words, which consist of three and more syllables, like *gratifikasi*, *presiden*, *proklamasi*, *produksi*, *spekulasi*. If to the word *president* a mute *e* should be added between the *p* and the *r*, it would become a four syllabic word, which is exceptional in Indonesian. It might be advisable in such cases where the word would have four or more syllables, to ignore the syllabic forms of the Malay language, in order to avoid too long Indonesian words. Thus such words like *gratifikasi*, *presiden*, *proklamasi*, *produksi*, *spekulasi*, may retain their consonant clusters. Consonant clusters like *nt*, *nd* etc. at the end of words do not occur in Indonesian, so that the last consonant can easily be omitted.

## 8. STANDARDISATION OF VOCABULARY ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The standardisation of the Indonesian vocabulary must even still further be pursued at international level. For words used to indicate measurements, such as *meter*, *gram* etc., chemical elements, and formula

etc., it is desirable for the Indonesian language to accept with as little change as possible the international words and symbols. Aside from these, however, there are still an abundance of words used by nearly all modern languages of the world, mostly deriving from Graeco-Latin. In becoming a modern language Indonesian will gradually accept more and more concepts of modern culture. If we know that the Indonesian language until this time has already coined or accepted more than 300,000 modern terms expressing modern international concepts, we will realize that it is moving faster and faster in the direction of the modern languages, leaving far behind the other not modernised Indonesian languages. Since the concept of science, technology and other aspects of modern culture are the same or nearly the same in all modern languages, it is of great advantage in learning modern languages and in the exchange of ideas, if the Indonesian language accepts words which are similar or nearly similar to those of other modern languages, such as atom, politik, radio, television, telephone, valuta etc., it is obvious that the acceptance of international words by the new languages is of the greatest advantage for the growing world community.

#### 9. THE STANDARDISATION OF GRAMMAR

The standardisation of the rules of grammar of the modern Indonesian language must result in determining a normative grammar accepted by the language community. Such a grammar is first of all necessary for the use in schools, since it is primarily the school teacher who must have a standard of correct language usage, which he teaches to his students, and which gradually will be accepted by the whole community.

Perhaps it would have been possible to construct a grammar of the Indonesian language from the standpoint of this language only, to create new categories in order to arrive at a grammar best adapted to the structure and other characteristics of the language. Had this been done, the Indonesian grammar would only have been understandable within the framework of Indonesian or perhaps some other related languages.

Since the Indonesian language is supposed to be the medium of expression and communication in the modern world, it is advisable to write an Indonesian grammar which would describe the structure of the language with the use of - as many as can be considered proper - categories and terms of the grammar of modern languages like Dutch and English. In this way Indonesian grammar would not lose all contact with modern languages; on the contrary, a bridge could be erected between them, facilitating the learning of these languages by Indonesians, and vice versa. But since Indonesian had its own characteristics and categories, of course special attention had to be paid to them.

On various occasions I already indicated that modern linguistics as a whole pays very little attention to the writing of a normative grammar, which is understandable, since modern languages are already highly standardised.<sup>1</sup>

The Indonesian language is one among about two hundred and fifty languages belonging to the same language group. The Malay language, as modern Indonesian was earlier called, is not even the largest and most important language in that group. As *lingua franca* of at least a thousand years in an area as large as the whole of Europe or the United States of America, its strength was in its adaptability, its lawlessness, i.e. everybody expressed himself in that language with a minimum of vocabulary and a minimum knowledge of its rules of grammar. Thus Malay became known as the easiest language in the world to learn.

It is clear that this ease, this lawlessness, which was a great advantage in the unsophisticated contacts between merchants and travellers in the bazaars and harbours, or between foreigners who happened to meet each other casually, would turn out to be of great disadvantage when the language became the national and official language of the country, the medium of instruction in schools, the language of law and official correspondence etc. Thus the problem of paramount importance was, how to change the rather pidgin-like *lingua franca* into a stable, sophisticated national and official modern language, which would become the vehicle of modern Indonesian thought and culture. Standardised prescriptive rules had to be determined for use in schools, by officials and the common people. A choice had to be made from among various existing rules, or new rules had to be created: Which of the various rules are better adjusted to the new task of the language as the bearer of new Indonesian thought and culture?

Besides the knowledge of the essential characteristics of the Malay language, knowledge of the general characteristics of related languages in the Indonesian area is also necessary for the writing of a normative grammar. Where ambiguity exists in the usage of the Malay language, general or predominant rules in other related languages could be of great help in teaching a decision on a uniform rule. In the case of Indonesian, it is the general or predominant rules of the Western part of the Malay-Polynesian language group that should be considered.

A knowledge of the characteristics of Malay and other languages of the western Malay-Polynesian languages does not, however, suffice for the creation of a normative grammar, since modern Indonesian has still

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<sup>1</sup>See my inaugural lecture delivered at the University of Malay: *Failure of Modern Linguistics in the Face of Linguistic Problems of the Twentieth Century*. Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya, 1965.

another very important characteristic, expressed by the adjective 'modern'. Indonesian must be also a modern language, expressing modern thought and culture, comparable to English, French, German, etc.

#### 10. WHAT IS MODERNISATION?

At this point I think I cannot escape the obligation to explain again succinctly my concept of modern thought or modern culture. My basic assumption is that cultural phenomena are uniquely related to human behaviour as a result of the special capacity of the human mind to evaluate his world (which includes himself), in contrast to animal behaviour which is based on drives and instincts. The human values resulting from this evaluating capacity can be discerned in the theoretical value aiming at the identification of things and processes in nature, the economic value aiming at their utilisation, the religious value aiming at the holy, the aesthetic value aiming at beauty, the power value aiming at power, and the solidarity value aiming at solidarity, i.e. love, friendship, etc.<sup>1</sup>

All these values are represented in every culture. The difference among the various cultures throughout history is not that there are cultures without one or more of the six basic values, but that the patterns, the configurations of the six evaluational processes, and thus also of values, are different. On this basis we can divide cultures into two types, namely progressive cultures, in which the theoretical and economic evaluating capacities dominate, and expressive cultures, in which the religious and aesthetic evaluation capacities dominate.

Viewed from this standpoint, what we have called the modernisation process in the countries of Asia is nothing else than the change of the overall configuration of the evaluating process of these cultures from an expressive to a progressive culture. Thus the same progressive process which during the last four centuries changed the expressive culture of the Middle Ages in Europe into modern culture has now cast the expressive Asian culture into the throes of rapid social and cultural change, or even of revolution.

From this point of view the description of Riau Malay will not give us the vocabulary or the rules of grammar of modern Indonesian. We have to look for other criteria of modern Indonesian based on other research material.

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<sup>1</sup>For a further elaboration of this value theory in relation to cultural phenomena, see S. Takdir Alisjahbana, *Values as Integrating Forces in Personality, Society and Culture*. Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1966.

The problem then turns upon the question: who are the bearers of modern progressive Indonesian culture, and thus also of the modern Indonesian language? It is the written language of these people that may be used as the basis for determining the rules of a modern Indonesian grammar. Thus the first task is to make a list of individuals, who may be considered the best representatives of modern culture, and thus are the best users of the modern language.

Even this study of the language of a selected number of intellectuals or of the language of the press, parliament, radio, television and high schools, will not directly result in a structured set of rules, since even these intellectuals, as well as the press, the Parliament etc., are not using Indonesian language in a standardised way; compared to the great variations in local dialects, however, the differences in usage in this selected material are small and more manageable.

In the process of formulating rules of grammar from the analyzed material, the writer of a modern grammar still has to make various decisions, in order to be able to formulate clear rules that will form the structured frame-work of Indonesian. In various cases the rules of traditional Malay can be accepted without modification, for Indonesian is indeed a continuation of Malay. But since the language has continuously been under the influence of local languages and dialects as well as modern languages, like English and Dutch, the investigated material reveals differences in the use of affixes, syntax, as well as word formation and word usage. It is the responsibility of the grammarian to choose as best as he can from among varying, often contradictory, possibilities, in order to arrive at a balanced grammar, attuned to the requirements of modern thought and culture.

## 11. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN CULTURE

In reflecting on modern culture the following conclusions are relevant:

1. The modern world possesses a system of vocabulary on which modern thought and culture are based.
2. Compared to man in other epochs of history, modern man has various traits, which are more or less related to the characteristics of modern thought and culture. I wish to formulate these traits as follows:
  - a. He considers himself a center of activity. With his efforts he is able to change and use nature; he is even able to change his own destiny. This principle I would like to call the activity principle.
  - b. Modern thought is comparatively much more rational and abstract

than thought in any other culture in the past. This is not only a result of the importance of scientific, economic and technological thinking in the modern world, but it is also a part of the very essence of modern society, in which rational and abstract relationships in many respects have replaced the concrete, emotional face to face relations of man in earlier communities. A good example is the rationality and abstractness of modern codified law as compared with customary law in traditional societies. This I call the rational and abstract principle.

c. Related to the abstractness of modern society is also its *sachlichkeit*, its business acumen.

d. Another important characteristic of modern society is its egalitarianism, in contrast to feudalistic society with its clear-cut social hierarchy. This principle which I call the egalitarian principle, is especially relevant in Indonesia, where the most important language in the archipelago - namely Javanese - is built on the principle of a society with a sophisticated hierarchy. The child must use a second vocabulary when speaking with his parents, as must the common man when he addresses a person who is higher on the social scale.

3. Apart from these characteristics of modern thought and culture, the fact is very important that never before the unity of the world has been as great as in our epoch. The rise of new nations with their own languages will to some extent neutralize the advantages of modern means of communication and transportation, created by modern science and technology. Consequently we must explore the possibilities of a rapprochement between the modern languages in their spelling, their vocabulary, their syntax and their morphology. A study of the common features of languages might be very useful. It will only be to the advantage of the modern Indonesian language, if it has common elements - for instance in vocabulary, abbreviations etc. - with the most important modern languages of the world, without losing its own characteristics as an Indonesian language. This advantage is for example very clear in the names of the elements and the formulas of chemistry, in the standardisation of measurements and the like.

## 12. THE STANDARDISATION OF THE AFFIXES

Speaking about the standardisation of grammar in the Indonesian language, we are first of all concerned with the use of the affixes, since the use of the affix is the dominant characteristic of the Indonesian language as an agglutinating language.

In the standardisation of the use of the affixes, we face to a certain extent the same problems as in the standardisation of the

vocabulary. Every uniform use of an affix in certain functions may be considered a form of standardisation. However, in the context of language planning or language engineering the aim of standardisation must also include the attempt to arrive at the most simple pattern of their usage. Here again we must attempt to acquire the most consistent system of rules, with as few exceptions as possible. Learning the rules of declension in German, for example, becomes in the last analysis learning the manifold exceptions, the same as when learning the conjugation of the French verbs. In this connection a basic analysis of the various Indonesian prefixes is necessary.

Having made this statement we can take the next step in analysing the grammatical features of the Indonesian language. Since we are, to a certain extent, still in the beginning of language planning or language engineering, we must try to formulate some guidelines for maximum consistence and coherence of the grammar aiming at efficient expression and communication. In order to be able to get a survey of the forces and meanings of the Indonesian affixes, we have to find the basic meanings of the various affixes in Malay. It is clear that in the multitude of usage, even in the strict Malay speaking communities, we gradually discern the basic meaning and usage from the derivated usage or even from deviations. These deviations could be the result of foreign influences or misunderstandings. Where not so widespread and important in language practice, we could discard these deviations as dialectal forms or as sub-standard. There remain still the derivatives from the basic meanings and forms. To give an example: if we analyse the use of the Indonesian prefix *ber-*, it is very likely that its basic meaning is *to have*, e.g. *ber-uang*, *ber-baju* *to have money*, *to have clothes*. From the basic meaning *to have* it is easy to arrive at the derivative meaning *to use*, *to produce*, *to be in a situation expressed by the noun*, etc. In determining the rules for the basic meaning and the derivative meanings, a knowledge of the dialects and other regional Indonesian languages, belonging to the same group as the Malay language, is of great help, in order to make the rules more consistent and coherent.

It is clear that in the description and determination of the usage of a prefix as *ber-*, an attempt must be made to delineate its difference with the affixes nearest in meaning and form, in this case the prefix *me-*, especially since both form the predicate in the Indonesian language. It could be that the *ber-* and *me-* prefixes formerly were of the same origin, but in the course of history different tendencies were followed, so that at the time being the difference between the two prefixes is very clear. *Ber-* expresses more: *having* and *being in a situation*, while the prefix *me-* creates words which are nearer to the Indo-German



active transitive verbs. A comparison between a classical text like the *Hikayat Seri Rama* and a modern novel like *Layar Terkembang* shows the clear tendency in modern Indonesian to use more active predicate words with the prefix *me-* than with the prefix *ber-*, which functions more like an adjective. This tendency of the change of the predicate from the description of a situation to the description of an activity runs parallel with the social tendency of the individualisation and dynamisation of the individual subject in Indonesian culture today through the influence of modern culture. In this line of reasoning a guideline is found for the decision in alternatives, where two predicate words with different prefixes are used for nearly the same function and meaning, e.g. the form *bernyanyi* and *menyanyi* are used in Indonesia to express the same meaning: *to sing*. *Menyanyi* is used more and more, and is according to the line of reasoning about also preferable to *bernyanyi*.

### 13. THE PROBLEMS OF THE DERIVATION OF LOAN WORDS

One of the difficult grammatical problems faced in borrowing words from a foreign language is the question, in which grammatical form should foreign words be accepted: in the plural or the singular, as a verb, an adjective, a substantive, or some other form. In the beginning the situation was very confusing. For the word *element*, for example, two Arabic forms were used, namely *unsur* and *anasir*, one in the singular and the other in the plural form. Persons using the Arabic plural *anasir* often used the word again in the Indonesian plural by re-duplicating it: *anasir-anasir*.

The intellectual who can speak and write Dutch has the tendency to use Dutch words according to Dutch pronunciation and grammatical form. But once a word is used by the common people who do not know Dutch, a new development starts. Let me elucidate this with an example. After the liberation everybody spoke of *proklamasi kemerdekaan*, *the proclamation of independence*. But in the sentence: Indonesia proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945, *proclaimed* is translated into Indonesian as *mem-proklamirkan*, because of the Dutch verb *proclameren*. It is clear that the acceptance of a word both as a verb and a noun will make the Indonesian language needlessly complicated and difficult. The transition from *proklamir* to *proklamasi* will not be understandable in the Indonesian grammar, or the grammar must introduce new affixes. It should be enough to incorporate in the Indonesian language one of the two forms and treat it further in accordance with the rules of Indonesian morphology. Thus it is possible to accept the noun *proklamasi*



from Dutch *proclamatie*. But if *proklamasi* is to be used as a verb according to the rules of the Indonesian language, the form *to proclaim* should be *mem-proklamasi-kan*. It is of course also possible to adapt the verb *proklamir*; the Indonesian noun derived from it should then be *proklamir-an*. It is, however, more or less accepted that for the adaptation of a European word into Indonesian the substantive form should be preferred.

More difficult is the problem of the adaptation of a group of European words deriving from the same stem, but through affixation representing a great variety of forms and meanings, such as *ratio*, *rational*, *rationality*, *to rationalise*, *rationalisation* and *rationalism*. At present the word *rasio* is accepted as an Indonesian word. The same is true of *rasionalisasi* (from the Dutch: *rationalisatie*); the word *rationalism* can be translated as *serbarasio* or adapted as *rasionalisma*, *to rationalise* is now *merasionalisasi*. For *rational* the common usage is *rasional* (Dutch *rationeel*), because of the influence of the Dutch pronunciation. Should *rasio*, *rasionalisasi* and *rasional* be accepted as separate, isolated words, or should new suffixes be introduced in the Indonesian grammar borrowed from Graeco-Latin or modern languages, in order that the relationship between these three words becomes understandable in Indonesian? The latter will have many consequences, and would only be advisable if this introduction of new suffixes really has a chance to be less complicated. I am of the opinion that a more satisfactory system will be achieved by attempting to withdraw from Indonesian the form *rasional* or *rasional* through replacing it by an Indonesian prefixation *berasio*, meaning *having ratio*. The word *rasional* or *rasional* is already so popular, that at the moment there is little chance that *berasio* will be able to take its place soon.

#### 14. ABSTRACT CONCEPTS

Another guideline is also needed in the expression of abstract concepts in Indonesian. Compared with the old Malay language, modern Indonesian uses much more abstract concepts like *kebangsaan nationality*, *kebenaran truth*, *kebanggaan pride*, etc. which arise clearly under the influence of modern thought, which is more abstract than the old Indonesian way of thinking. The modern Indonesian language expresses this abstract concept with the use of the prefix *ke-* in combination with the suffix *-an*. There was a time that the translation *Minumlah obat untuk kesehatanmu* for the Dutch sentence *Neem medicijn voor je gezondheid take medicine for your health* was not acceptable, because it was considered a too literal translation from the Dutch language.

According to traditional Malay rules and thoughts the Indonesian sentence should be *Minumlah obat supaya engkau menjadi sehat* *Take medicine in order that you become healthy*. The decision for the standardisation of modern Indonesian should accept this new grammatical form expressing new abstract concepts and logic of modern thought.

The breakthrough of abstract modern thought in the Indonesian language is clearly expressed in the decrease of classificatory numerals like *buah* for round things, *batang* for elongated things, *ekor* for animals, etc. Where the correct usage of numerals in the Malay language indicate the number of things and animals by classificatory numerals, such as *sebuah telur* *one (fruit) egg*, *sebatang rokok* *one (stem) cigaret*, *dua ekor anjing* *two (tail) dog*, in modern Indonesia these classificatory numerals are less and less used. The numerals themselves are already considered sufficient like in English: *an* or *one egg*, *a* or *one cigaret*, *two dogs*, which are in the Indonesian language now very often translated by *satu telur*, *satu rokok*, *dua anjing*. It is in the context of abstract modern thinking, that we can accept this new grammatical form of the numerals.

The crisis in the use of pronouns reflects the change of social relationship. The old pre-Hindu native Indonesian languages know a great variety of pronouns, especially of the second and third person, expressing the dominant position of the family relationship of its social structure. People of the same age or of the same family line as mother and father, are also called *ibu* *mother* and *bapak* *father*, while people of the same generation are called *kakak* if they are older, or *adik* if they are younger.

During the Hindu epoch of Indonesian history the hierarchical system of feudalism expressed itself in a system of pronouns differentiated according to the hierarchy of status and age of the speaker, the addressed or the third person. The lower in status or in age has to use the more modest and refined pronouns, in addressing an older person or one of higher status. This fact is for example clearly discernible in the Javanese language, where the other words are also classified according to low, middle and higher language forms. Even until now the usage of pronouns is still not yet sufficiently standardized. For the first person singular the word *saya* is more and more used, for the plural *kami* and *kita*, the first excluding the addressed, the second including the addressed. The word *aku* is used in more intimate relations. For the second person singular *kamu* and *engkau* is used, comparable to *tu* in French and *Du* in German, further *tuan* *gentleman*, *nyonya* *mrs.*, *nona* *miss*; while in the plural *sekalian* is added. The national movement in this century has made popular the democratic word *saudara*

*brother*, but after Independence *bapak* *father* and *ibu* *mother* are used more and more in addressing older persons or persons of a higher status. More in the line of a clear-cut democratic attitude is the word *anda*, which has been coined a decade ago. Gradually this word has dominated the sphere of advertisement, announcements and other abstract relationships with the public. During the last year it also started to be used by radio and television, and sometimes in official correspondence. It is very likely that the word *anda* will be the future standardised form of the Indonesian second person, comparable to the English *you*. The third person is more standardised in the form *dia* (singular) and *mereka* (plural). Sometimes *beliau* is used, to express respect for an older person or a person of higher status.

#### 15. THE CHANGE IN THE SYNTAX

As a consequence of the absence of declension and conjugation Indonesian syntax is dominated by word order and accentuation of the words in the sentence. The rule of Indonesian word order is that the following word determines the previous one. In conformity with this rule the predicate comes after the subject, the adjective after the substantive.<sup>1</sup>

Even in a compound the second element determines the first. In the meaning of a sentence the word order can be changed by the accentuation of the sentence. In this case inversion can also take place. In the determination of the new standardised word order, the problem is, to what extent the influence of the more dynamic European languages can be accepted in the rather rigid system of Malay word order. Dutch which had a strong influence on the educated younger generation, shows more freedom in the placing of the adverb or adverbial phrase than does Indonesian. The sudden increase of the use of Indonesian by Dutch educated intellectuals tends to make the Indonesian sentences more variegated and flexible in their word order.

#### 16. THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE UNIFICATION AND STANDARDISATION OF THE INDONESIAN AND MALAYSIAN LANGUAGE

It is to the advantage of the Indonesian and Malaysian language as modern languages, if a standardisation of spelling, grammar and vocabulary could be achieved as soon as possible alongside with a co-operation in the provision of books, encyclopaedias and other necessities. A

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<sup>1</sup>There are several exceptions to this rule such as the place of numeral adjectives before substantives, etc.

common language institution will surely work to the advantage of both participating countries.

The efforts at a common spelling dated already from the 17th of April 1959, when Malaya or the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu came to an agreement with the Republic of Indonesia.

In December of the same year, a discussion took place between the Malaysian and the Indonesian Committee for a common spelling in the Latin script, called the Melindo spelling. This spelling should at the latest be announced in January 1962, but political difficulties between both countries in the following years prevented the realisation of the Melindo spelling. After the end of the political confrontation between both countries, the Committees of both countries came to a new agreement on the common spelling, which should have been proclaimed in Indonesia during its fourtieth celebration of the Pledge of the Indonesian Youth on October 28, 1968. The resistance, however, of public opinion against this common spelling was so strong that this new concept was again cancelled.

At last after various deliberations in a better political atmosphere the new common spelling was announced at the Indonesian Independence Anniversary by the President of Indonesia on August 17, 1972, while an announcement by the Malaysian government also took place on the same date.

It is clear that after the proclamation of the same spelling for the Indonesian and Malaysian language, the most urgent problem is the co-ordination or unification of modern terminology and grammar for both languages.

It is encouraging to see that the newly published Malaysian dictionary, the *Kamus Dewan* by Dr. Teuku Iskandar in Kuala Lumpur has included all Indonesian words of the Indonesian dictionaries *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* by W.J.S. Poerwadarminta and the *Kamus Moderen Bahasa Indonesia* by St. Moh. Zain, so that it is now the most complete dictionary of the Indonesian-Malaysian language.

I have especially put the co-ordination and standardisation of the Indonesian and Malaysian language as an important issue of the Indonesian language, since I am convinced that the importance of a language, to a great extent, depends on the number of users of that language. A language with a greater number of users has greater potentialities for development and progress than a smaller one. With the Malaysian language and the Malay language of Singapore and Brunei, the Indonesian/Malaysian language will be the sixth largest language in the world, used by about 140,000,000 people. If we remember, that the same language is also spoken in the southern part of Thailand and even in some

parts of the Philippines, its position is even stronger.

The UNESCO project for the study of Malay culture, which is supported not only by Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, but also by Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, even Madagascar, will undoubtedly give to the Indonesian/Malaysian language a chance to play in the future an even more important role in the whole of South-East Asia. The Indonesian/Malaysian language is the most important language of the Malay-Polynesian group which has the opportunity to become a large, mature language in the modern world. In this connection I should like to mention that in Australia the Indonesian language is already available for students at high schools and in some places even at primary schools.

It is to be hoped that the Indonesian government will take the initiative and also the leadership in the co-ordination and standardisation of the Indonesian and Malaysian language in the advantage of both countries and the whole of South-East Asia.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For a survey of the problems of language planning or language engineering in connection with the modernisation and standardisation of the Indonesian language, see my book: *Language Planning for Modernisation: The Case of Indonesian and Malaysian*, which will be published by Mouton Publishers, The Hague, Netherlands, for its series: *Contributions to the Sociology of Language*, under editorship of Prof. Joshua A. Fishman.



## DICTIONARY MAKING AND THE STANDARDISATION OF MALAY (BAHASA MALAYSIA)

Abdullah Hassan

### 1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

#### 1.1. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN MALAYSIA

Malaysia is a multi-racial country. Unlike its neighbours, its racial and linguistic composition is heterogeneous. There are three major races living in the country, i.e. Malays, Chinese, and Indians. They speak different languages. In addition, there are small racial groups but these are not very significant linguistically, e.g. the Portuguese, the Arabs, the Sikhs etc. As such, the linguistic situation in Malaysia is no doubt complex. Malay is widely spoken by both the indigenous and the immigrant races. Although the variety of Malay spoken may vary from community to community, it is nevertheless a language whose usage is widely distributed. Almost all the Malays speak the formal variety of the language as well as their own local dialects. A form of creolized Malay is spoken by an earlier group of immigrant Chinese settling in the state of Malacca and to a lesser extent in Penang. The racial communities have virtually been kept away from one another, except perhaps for the daily business of buying and selling and other limited social contacts. This is not a conducive situation for learning the Malay language well; as a consequence many members of these immigrant races only speak a kind of pidgin Malay which often proves to be quite adequate for their commercial and limited social functions. However this is not the entire picture. Those who have been educated in Malaysian schools have now achieved good proficiency in the language and use it for administrative as well as other functions according to their professions.

Statistically, Chinese is the largest immigrant race. They speak

various dialects which to a large extent are not mutually intelligible. The Chinese are concentrated in the urban and mining areas. Very few of them speak Mandarin except those who have been educated in Chinese schools. The dialects spoken by this community are Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Tiechiu, etc. The Indians also make up a sizeable group. They also speak various languages, depending on the state where they originated from, like Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Punjabi, Urdhu, Benggali and Sinhalese. There are also other minority groups. One which is worth mentioning is the Thai, who are citizens of Malaysia residing near the border of Thailand. Most of them are Thai-speaking Malays. There is also a small number of Arabs but they are being assimilated quickly into the Malay community. In Malacca, there is a kind of Portuguese Creole which is spoken by a small group of Portuguese descendants.

The indigenous languages are just as varied especially in Sabah and Sarawak. This is because the linguistic situation there is influenced by the geographical terrain of the country. The most important languages in those two states are Iban spoken by the Sea Dayak of Sarawak, Bedayuh spoken by the Land Dayak and Melanau which is divided into various dialects, Bisaya, Murut, Kelabit, Kayan, Kenyah and Punan. On the Malaysian mainland we may identify three groups of indigenous languages, namely those spoken by the 'Proto-Malays', the Senois, and the Negritos.

Besides all these indigenous languages there is a widespread use of English, especially since until lately it was one of the languages of instruction in the schools as well as the language of administration. However, the claim made by Le Page (1964:67) that English was the interracial/lingua franca among the educated in the country was more true of pre-independence Malaysia, and also probably during the first few years after independence, than it is today. Today, there is a conscious effort to switch to the National Language (Bahasa Malaysia), and thus limit the use of English. Moreover, the elite in Malaysia is no longer composed of those solely educated in English. A substantial portion of them have now been educated in Malay and Arabic, and they use little or no English at all.

## 1.2. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE SITUATION

### 1.2.1. The Choice of a National Language

There is no doubt as to the choice of a national language in Malaysia today. Of course, this is a political question. During the colonial days, no real or discernible efforts were made towards choosing a



national language. The situation was that English was widely used as a language of administration and education. This was undoubtedly the policy of the colonial rulers who fully realised the multi-ethnic nature of the population and, to consolidate their own power, wanted the people to remain divided culturally, economically, and linguistically.

However, the National Language policy became more apparent after Malaya was given political autonomy. This autonomy was of course due to the political awakening of the people. Autonomy in government, as argued by the Sastrawan 50 (a group of writers in 1950s) was meaningless if the people could not participate fully in their own political discussions, or take part in their own government. At that time only 10% of the population could speak English which was the language of administration. This automatically excluded most of the Malays and other races from taking active part in the running of their own affairs. Therefore it was not desirable to continue using English in administration.

The Sastrawan 50 saw the weakness in the continued use of English as a language of administration and education. The population comprising of the three major races: Malays, Chinese, and Indians would remain divided. The three different ethnic groups speaking different languages and with different cultural backgrounds had no common factor to unify them. English could not remedy the situation in any way. Furthermore in a newly independent nation, there was the need for a common national identity, and this could only be achieved if the gap dividing the people could be reduced peacefully. The need for a national language was thus quite urgent. There were other factors and considerations too. For example, Malay was the largest community in the population - 43% of the people. The second largest community was Chinese 36%, and Indian 9%. The remaining 2% comprised of other minor races. Although only 43% of the population were Malays, the language was also spoken by the other races in the country as a language of contact between the ethnic groups. On the other hand the immigrant languages as described above were not uniform and it would appear to be undesirable to select any one of these as the National Language of Malaysia. The use of the Malay language was widespread among the population irrespective of their races. What was more important was probably the fact that the language spoken was quite uniform, i.e. it was intelligible to a large number of the population. In these terms, Malay was undoubtedly the language spoken by most of the population of Malaysia.

Making Malay the National Language did not actually mean that the

other languages would be discriminated against (cf. Constitution of Malaysia 1972:116-7). The policy of the government was to allow peaceful co-existence, but in a process of national building such as in Malaysia some form of subordination would have to be adopted so that the National Language could be allowed to develop and become established.

### 1.2.2. Implementation of the National Language Policy

The political awakening of the Malays also prompted efforts to develop their language (cf. Ferguson, 1968:28). These efforts could be traced back very far into history alongside the development of Malay nationalism. However concrete and effective efforts were only apparent until Malaya achieved self-government and eventually became politically independent. Policy was laid out in the constitution making Malay the National Language of the country. This was to be implemented in phases through the educational system. Malay was supposed to replace English gradually as a language of administration and education. However the government's implementation policy lacked firmness in the beginning. The implementation was expected to be carried out through persuasion. This was not very effective. There was to be a period of ten years after independence i.e. in 1967 during which English was to be replaced by Malay in schools as well as in administration. Whilst the people sympathised with the government's policy, it lacked, as a matter of fact, a sense of urgency.

However, these initial efforts did not end in complete failure. The population in general sympathised with the policy and to a certain extent blamed the government for not taking firmer steps in implementing it. Soon after, the government took bolder steps to gradually phase out English as a medium of instruction in the schools. After almost seven years of operation Malaysia witnessed encouraging signs towards this end. The target of the government was that Malay would be fully used as a medium of instruction in schools and universities by 1983. The current situation seems to indicate that in some university courses Malay has been used as a medium of instruction and thus the actual implementation of the policy is well ahead of the target date.

The government's policy is at present rapidly being implemented. At the same time steps have been taken to develop the language. The process of development includes the three conceptually distinct components: (a) graphisation, the use of writing; (b) standardisation, the use of supra dialectal norm; and (c) modernisation, the development of vocabulary and forms of discourse (cf. Ferguson 1968:34). From here on we will focus our attention on the role of Lexicography in achieving

these objectives.

a) The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka and its Role

After Malay was officially made the National Language, several problems immediately arose. The language was then inadequate and handicapped to assume its new role. Heretofore, its use was mainly confined to functions which were quite inferior and less sophisticated compared to that of English. It was a language used only in everyday social contacts. In education it was used only in Malay primary schools. It was not required until then to assume other functions such as administration and higher education. Its function and usage were indeed very limited. It lacked special vocabulary items.

The Malay political leaders and the Sastrawan 50 were fully aware of the difficiencies of the National Language. They held conferences to discuss and find solutions to the problems. They submitted a memorandum to the government containing a comprehensive list of proposals. Among these proposals were: (1) to establish a Balai Pustaka, which was later re-named Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Language and Literature Agency), to spearhead the efforts to develop Malay systematically; (2) extend the teaching of the National Language to all schools; (3) to establish secondary schools using the National Language as the instructional medium; (4) to make the passing in the National Language examination a requisite for the award of a certificate; (5) to set up a Language Institute, and a teacher training college for the teaching of the National Language; (6) to initiate co-ordination efforts with Bahasa Indonesia; and (7) to form terminology to meet the present inadequacies of the National Language in this area. (cf. Memoranda Angkatan Sastrawan 50, 1962).

These proposals were fully adopted and implemented by the government. In July 1956, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka was established and charged with the duty of carrying out the development of the National Language. From then onwards, conscious and concerted efforts were made by the government to upgrade Malay as the National Language. The National Language was also known as Bahasa Malaysia since 1969.

As stated in the Ten Year Progress Report of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in 1967 its function vis-a-vis the National Language was that of developing and enriching it. This could then, as the name of the institution suggested, be carried out in two big fields, namely (a) Literature, and (b) Language.

This function of the Dewan in planning and promoting the National Language was further specified by the Constitution of the Dewan as follows:

- (1) To standardise the spelling and pronunciation, and to form

appropriate terminologies in the National Language;

(2) To compile and publish a National Language dictionary.

These two objectives were pursued vigorously by the Dewan, and it goes without saying its impact on the development on the National Language was quite considerable.

The development of Bahasa Malaysia could not have taken place so rapidly had it not been for the textbooks which employed the standardised vocabulary compiled in the dictionaries. The circulation of these textbooks in schools of course helped a great deal in making the language fairly uniform, especially by way of vocabulary items, both the general and specialised ones. On this matter the Dewan, printed and supplied almost all the textbooks required in schools and including some of those used in higher education. These books were mainly published in Bahasa Malaysia. They were both written specially for the schools or translated from another language, namely English. To give an example of the size of the undertaking; in 1972, the Dewan published 94 titles for primary schools, 39 titles for secondary schools and 198 titles for higher education. There were also books published for other purposes, such as general education, 12 titles, and reference materials 40 titles. Meanwhile the Dewan also reprinted books published earlier, as well as magazines and journals; mostly in Bahasa Malaysia.

b) The Ministry of Education and its Role

To mention only the role of the Dewan when discussing the process of development would be quite inadequate. There were also other factors and institutions which contributed to the effective development of Bahasa Malaysia. Of particular importance was the role played by the Ministry of Education in setting up the Language Institute for training teachers to teach the National Language. Also the Ministry played a vital role in implementing the policy in the schools and examinations.

After Independence in 1957, the teaching of Malay began to gather momentum as the government gradually implemented the use of Malay as the National Language. The learning of Malay became more rapid and widespread inside and outside schools. Proficiency in Malay became a requirement for jobs in the government service as more and more administrative matters were conducted in Malay. However the government for one failed to fully establish Bahasa Malaysia as the sole National Language as it had originally planned by 1967 i.e. ten years after independence. At any rate, ten years was perhaps too soon for things to change so drastically and for the country to be able to switch from one language to another especially when the new National Language was not quite ready to shoulder its new functions. This situation was

aggravated by the fact that the government lacked firmness in implementing its policy. The government expected its citizens to gradually use Malay in stages such that by 1967 everyone would be using Bahasa Malaysia in all domains of activity.

All this changed after 1967. Since then, more positive and firm steps have been taken. Meanwhile the dictionaries both for general and specific purpose were published. The implementation became more rapid and its progress was obvious and encouraging.

#### c) Other Agencies

There were also individual efforts of various writers as well as that of commercial publishing firms in complementing the efforts of the Dewan in publishing Malay teaching materials, supplementary reading materials and dictionaries. Special mention here should be made of the role played by the publishing firm 'Sinaran Brothers' in Penang which took upon itself the task of publishing teaching and reading materials in Malay for schools in the fifties and early sixties when the Dewan was only beginning its operation. All these contributed to the general rapid progress in developing and implementing Malay as the National Language of Malaysia.

Actually, books are published by individuals as well as by commercial publishing houses. These books, however adhere to the regulations stipulated by the Ministry of Education especially with regards to spelling, technical terms and so on. It is necessary to obtain the ministry's approval in order to use those books in schools. Violations of these regulations may prevent the books from being sold in the schools and colleges.

## 2. MALAY DICTIONARIES YESTERDAY AND TODAY

### 2.1. DICTIONARY BROADLY DEFINED

I come now to the precise topic of this paper which is the role of lexicography in the development of the National Language. However, before starting, I would first like to explain an important notion which forms the basis of my discussion, namely the notion of dictionary. In the statement regarding the functions of the Dewan, it was implied that dictionaries and terminologies were two different things. For the purpose of this discussion, it is important that the term dictionary be taken to bear as general a meaning as possible. There are of course two kinds of dictionaries. There is the general purpose dictionary and the special purpose dictionary. Under special purpose dictionaries we may include dictionaries for technical terms such as dictionaries for Geography, Geology, Chemistry, Biology, etc. In this paper I would

like to consider both types of dictionaries. The Dewan is at present in the process of collating and compiling both types of dictionaries as a means of updating the machinery of the language and enable the language to assume its function as a medium of instruction in institutions of higher learning, and also its equally important function as a medium of administration.

## 2.2. SURVEY OF MALAY DICTIONARIES IN THE PAST

There are three categories of dictionaries that fall under this survey (cf. Yusuf Hitam, 1961). The first are the primitive forms of the dictionary, namely word lists as they were termed. This mostly consists of tallies of rudimentary lexical items in Malay. They were compiled not for the purpose of producing a complete dictionary of Malay but rather for the purpose of providing vocabulary items for traders, administrators, missionaries and the like. The second type is a number of dictionaries which were compiled together with grammatical descriptions are omitted.

### 2.2.1. Word Lists

The first documented word list is that of Malay-Chinese, believed to have been completed before the fifteenth century as it contained no traces of Portuguese influence which colonised the sultanate of Malacca in 1511. It was written in Chinese. The second word list is that of Pigafetta's (1521) which was compiled when his ship called at Tidore, one of the Moluccas Islands. It was prepared in Malay-Italian using the Roman alphabet. The third word list was compiled by Frederick de Houtman (1603) in Dutch. It also included words from Malagasy. Later Albert Ruyl translated the book into German. The book was also translated into English by Augustine Spalding in 1624, who published it in London. The word list in English was based in Gothard Arthus's edition of Houtman's word list. Later in 1623, Caspar Wiltens and Sebastian Danckerts published a Dutch-Malay, Malay-Dutch word list at the Hague. It was apparent that much of the academic interest in the Malay language was first encountered among the Europeans, especially the Dutch, Germans and the English. This was to set the future trend in Malay lexicography. This investigation, until recent times was very much under the control of the Europeans, mainly English and French scholars.

## 2.2.2. Dictionary and Grammar

A missionary by the name of David Haex compiled a dictionary in 1631 called *Dictionary Malaico-Latino et Latinum-Malaicum*. With this, Malay lexicography advanced a step forward such that the book can now rightly be termed a dictionary. The nature of the work was very much like that of a word list because it was based on a word list compiled by Wiltens and Danckearts. It was actually a translation of Wiltens and Danckearts work. It was recorded from the Malay language as it was spoken in Ambon, Java, Banda and the Moluccas. However this piece of work could not be termed a dictionary in its proper sense because it included also proverbs and idiomatic expressions alongside a brief account of Malay grammar. The grammar included some descriptions of the use of the prefixes: *me, pen, ber, ter, kan*, the particles: *lah, tak*, and pronominal clitics *mu, ku, nya*, etc. Nevertheless it was now no longer a mere word list. On the other hand it was not a full dictionary as it included other pieces of information. Other writers followed the footsteps of David Haex and improved on his work. One such work was by Thomas Bowery who wrote *Malay-English and English-Malay Dictionary* in 1701. His improvement was the addition of vocabulary items for commerce and trade as well as some political terms commonly used in Johore. The data was collected from many areas of the Malay Archipelago. It also recorded some usage of Malay at that time. In other words it contained grammatical descriptions as well. Undoubtedly these works were mainly intended for the use of traders and administrators during that time.

In 1801 J. Howison, an Englishman, compiled another dictionary which was very much similar to that of Bowery's. Howison's dictionary nevertheless contained two changes. It left out the speech varieties, but included grammatical descriptions. Nevertheless the grammatical description section was reduced and the dictionary became the major part of the description.

In 1852 another dictionary and grammar was compiled by John Crawford entitled *The Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language*. This work consisted of two sections. Volume 1 was a historical and grammatical description of Malay which was termed a dissertation and grammar. It provided a lengthy account of history as well as a comparative study of Malay and a short grammatical description. The second volume was called *Malay-English and English-Malay Dictionary*. Crawford listed a large number of lexical items giving relevant information such as the word class and meaning of each word in English. However the work of Crawford did not supersede that of Marsden which was printed earlier.

Marsden's work was most comprehensive and the definitions were more elaborate. Moreover, it returned to the old system of lexicography which included grammatical and other pieces of information.

### 2.2.3. Dictionary Proper

William Marsden's monumental work which was published in 1812 (before Crawford's), was probably the first comprehensive work in Malay lexicography. It brought a new era into Malay lexicography. Marsden was a scholar and executed his work scientifically. This was a new contribution, and it marked the end of dictionaries produced by traders and missionaries. Marsden wrote another book, *The Grammar of the Malayan Language* which was not related to the dictionary. In this work, he utilised both the Roman as well as the Arabic alphabet. This was different from the work of Bowery's which used the Roman alphabet based on the Dutch sound values. Marsden transliterated the Arabic spelling system into the Roman alphabet and thereby started the Romanized spelling system of Malay.

The development of Malay lexicography though not outstanding was nevertheless worthy of notice. The dictionary could not be compiled if there was no adequate knowledge of Malay culture, way of life, and history etc. At the same time there were also a number of other works produced by Dutch and French scholars, among whom were P.P. Roorda van Eysinga, P. Bose, A. de Wilde, C.P.J. Elout and l'Abbe P. Favre. However, they brought nothing new to Malay lexicography. Favre compiled two volumes entitled *Dictionnaire Malais-Francais*, published in 1875. He concentrated on the change of the meanings and pronunciation of the words. Like Marsden, Favre must have faced a lot of difficulties since there was no standard spelling system. The Arabic, Palava, Kawi and Rencong scripts did not adequately represent the phonology of the language. Favre also collected his material from the Malay archipelago which differed in pronunciation from one area to another. He nevertheless made a distinction between 'good' and 'imitation' Malay.

Towards the end of the 19th century a few more dictionaries were compiled by English as well as Dutch scholars such as those by H.C. Klinkert, R. Brons Middel, J.C. Toorn, H. Clifford, F.A. Swettenham, L.Th. Mayer and Cowie. However their works were no improvement on the works of Marsden and Favre. The next significant contribution to Malay lexicography was that of R.J. Wilkinson's *A Malay-English Dictionary* (1901). He undoubtedly made good use of the information available to him from Marsden and Favre. In his dictionary Wilkinson described his efforts in collecting the material. Between 1901 to 1903 he collated the data. He was also the first man to systematically transliterate



Arabic spelling into the Roman alphabet. His first work listed the lexical entries in the Arabic alphabet which was later (in 1932) transliterated into the Roman alphabet. This is still one of the best dictionaries in Malay though it lacks a methodological framework as well as a complete etymology of the lexical entries. Secondly his weakness was that since he himself was a botanist there was a tendency on his part to put more stress on botanical terms. Thirdly he depended heavily on classical written data which almost gave the impression that Malay was not a living language. There were other dictionaries produced after Wilkinson but they did not quite measure up to the same level as that of Wilkinson. They were the works of Winstedt (1922), Hamilton (1923), and Swettenham (1927). Of these two probably Winstedt's had the most merit in the sense that it was brief and contained geographical information on the lexical items of the various dialects. One important feature was the inclusion of Indonesian words in his dictionary. Winstedt's work began to show that there was a great deal of similarity between Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia.

After 1930 Malay lexicographers entered the scene, among whom were Shamsuddin Hj. Mohd. Yunus (1935), Mustafa Abdul Rahman Mahmud (1940?), Haji Abdul Hamid Ahmad (1941), Mohammad Haniff (1955), Mohd. Shah, Munji and Abdullah Samad (1957), Farid Wajidi (1959), Ali Asraf (1959), Zainal Abidin Safarwan (1966) and a few others. However the works produced by these writers were not in a real sense innovations. Their works were for the most part based upon previous works such as that of Wilkinson and Winstedt.

### 2.3. SURVEY OF MALAY DICTIONARIES RECENTLY PUBLISHED

It is difficult to determine the exact nature and extent of studies in this area in Malaysia today. Of course as indicated earlier in the paper, the biggest single effort made in this area is that which is being carried out at the Dewan in Kuala Lumpur, where there is a section which is charged with the duty to do research and develop Malay. The duty is divided into three areas: language usage, lexicography and terminology. We will not touch here upon the topic of language usage; instead we will deal with the topic of lexicography. Then we will discuss matters relating to terminology in the next section. In this section we will discuss chiefly the work carried out in lexicography. The lexicography project undertaken by this section falls under these main topics: monolingual dictionaries, bilingual dictionaries and dictionaries for general purpose.

### 2.3.1. Monolingual Dictionaries

In 1970 after 12 years of hard work the Dewan Bahasa published its first volume of a Bahasa Malaysia monolingual dictionary the *Kamus Dewan*. It claims to have listed 28,000 lexical items and that surpasses all other Malay dictionaries published to-date. This year, the department has undertaken a project to simplify the dictionary. This is done in order to meet the need of language learners of Malay.

Another monolingual Malay dictionary project is also being simultaneously carried out. The objective is to compile an encyclopaedic Malay dictionary for children. However, this project has just been launched, and it is hoped that the work will be completed in 1976. When published, it will provide useful aid for the young learners of Malay.

In spite of the fact that the *Kamus Dewan* had been published, there still remained a great need for simpler dictionaries for the purpose of teaching children and adults alike. This need was soon met by the commercial publishers. A few monolingual as well as Malay-English dictionaries appeared within a short space of time. These are: A.S. Hornby et. al. (1972), A.K. Mohd. (1973), Mohd. Salleh Daud (1973), Sulaiman Masri (1973), Meji Sulung (1974) and Kadir M.A. (1974). Although the motive of producing these dictionaries was a commercial one, they nevertheless fulfilled a very important function, i.e. meeting the needs of school children and Malay language learners in general.

### 2.3.2. Bilingual Dictionaries

Another project under way is the making of two bilingual dictionaries. The first is a compilation of a Malay-English dictionary and the other is a compilation of an English-Malay dictionary. The English-Malay dictionary should be in print by the end of the year and the Malay-English one by next year. These dictionaries are of course intended to aid language learners through the English language or Malaysians to learn English through the Malay language. This is of course, in line with the country's policy to achieve bilingualism where the people are expected to achieve a certain level of proficiency in the National Language and English.

### 2.3.3. Dictionaries for Special Purpose

There are three kinds of dictionaries for special purpose planned by the Dewan. These are dictionaries of synonyms, antonyms and a thesaurus. The dictionary of synonyms will provide synonyms for each of the lexical entries, and likewise a dictionary of antonyms will

furnish antonyms for each lexical item listed. The dictionary of synonyms should be in print this year and the dictionary of antonyms next year.

Simultaneously, the project also includes the compilation of a thesaurus of Malay. The thesaurus will record all the current language usage in Bahasa Malaysia and state the source where it was found. The compilation is expected to be completed next year and to be published afterwards.

#### 2.3.4. Other Projects

It is not easy to ascertain the number of projects on Malay lexicography in Malaysia at the moment. It is quite difficult to obtain reliable information on this matter. It is quite safe, however, to assume that there are not many such projects undertaken by individuals outside the Dewan. There is one project sponsored by the Universiti Sains Malaysia on the compilation of a monolingual dictionary of Malay. This project is being undertaken by the Centre for Language Studies of the University. The dictionary project also intends to assemble etymological information on the relevant lexical entries. It is expected to contain about 35,000 lexical entries. The project is however quite vast, and there is a lack of personnel to work on the project.

#### 2.3.5. Special Purpose Dictionaries (Technical Terms)

I come now to discuss the other important aspect of lexicography namely the formation of technical or scientific terms. When Malaysia became independent in 1957, the Razak and Rahman Talib reports recommended that Malay eventually replace English in education. However, Malay was never before employed for the first six years of school teaching. As a result there was indeed a serious deficiency, if not a total vacuum in modern and scientific terminology especially in the field of natural sciences. There were scanty works such as that of Mc High (1948), *Words and Phrases Used in Malay Broadcast During the Period 1942-1945*, and Mohammad bin Hanif's (1949), *Kamus Politik*. There was virtually nothing else. Nevertheless, there was a sudden upsurge of nationalism in the country. The recommendation was timely and well received. It was felt that it was the right of the people to be given education in their own National Language rather than be burdened with the learning of another language before they could gain access to knowledge. In line with the country's policy in education, secondary and tertiary education in Bahasa Malaysia was yet to be

implemented.

Two kinds of problems emerged. Firstly, there were no textbooks in Malay both for the secondary and tertiary levels of education. There were practically no such textbooks. A solution had to be found, i.e. textbooks in Malay had to be published. They could be written by individuals or at least translated from English. The second problem was intimately connected with the first. Even if there were individuals who were ready to tackle the first problem, Malay lacked the necessary technical terminology. The need for such terminology was acute; without it the whole policy of implementing Malay as the language in administration and education could become jeopardised. The vacuum had to be filled.

The responsibility of preparing the scientific terminology was placed upon the Dewan. The Dewan concentrated its efforts on developing the language so that it could become an effective tool, to perform the new functions it was required to do. Although the matter was urgent and had to be solved quickly, there had to be careful planning. The Dewan, upon realising the urgency of the matter regarding the forming of scientific terms, immediately embarked on a terminology project. The system had to be sufficiently viable that it may function with minimum difficulties. Working committees were formed. Each committee was responsible for producing scientific terms for a certain subject area or discipline. The committees numbered as many as 24 at one time. The committee members consisted of scholars (including linguists), professionals, and educated individuals who were competent in specific areas of knowledge. They were called upon to participate in the process of forming the urgently needed scientific terms in Bahasa Malaysia. They worked with such dedication that within a period of ten years they enriched the Malay language with no less than 71,000 technical terms. Today, the output has been more than doubled.

The Terminology Section of the Dewan was also responsible for coordinating the output of the various subject committees. The section acted as a secretariat which called the meeting of the Terminology Committees. Each meeting was probably better called a workshop, for in actual fact it worked on that basis. The Dewan was also responsible for publishing and disseminating the scientific terms (*istilahs*) formed. In so doing the Dewan was able to ensure a uniform terminology throughout the country. To-date, the Dewan has formed and published English-Malay scientific terms (*istilah*) in the following: Designations and Departments (1960), Administrative (1962), Economy (1965), Education (1966), Geography (1967), Biology, Forestry, Agriculture, Physic, Mathematics and Chemistry (1968), Engineering (1970), Law, Linguistics,

Literature, Postal (and Telecommunications) (1972), Commerce, Industry, Accountancy, History, Domestic Science (1973), Music, Art (1974). These istilah items were made official by the Ministry of Education and are now widely used in schools, colleges and universities and other relevant institutions.

It goes without saying that the Dewan would not have been able to carry out a project of such magnitude alone. There were complimentary efforts in forming scientific terms outside the Dewan. Certain areas of studies were quite sophisticated or newly introduced in the universities, hence it would have been foolhardy for the Dewan to attempt to form 'istilahs' items for these subjects or disciplines too. In such cases, it was not an uncommon practice for the universities to take the responsibility to form the 'istilahs' required. Now the practice is for each University to have its own Istilah Committee established to solve immediate problems in the use of scientific terms for teaching. Normally such committees would include a representative from the Dewan, and would be expected to send a list of 'istilahs' formed to the Dewan for the purpose of preventing duplication of efforts by other institutions. The University committees normally would co-opt working committees to carry out specific functions. At the Universiti Sains Malaysia, there are now several such working committees to form 'istilahs' for the following disciplines: anthropology, political science, architecture, building technology, rubber technology, food technology, plastic technology, pharmacy, computer science, marine biology, biochemistry, thermodynamics, organic chemistry and non-organic chemistry. Similar efforts are also being carried out in other universities in the country.

#### 2.4. THE KAMUS DEWAN

As mentioned above, the Dewan Bahasa published its first volume of a Bahasa Malaysia monolingual dictionary, the *Kamus Dewan*, in 1970. It is now rated as one of the best dictionaries in Malay. Whilst this dictionary has many points to its credit, it has flaws too. We will now examine some of these. A review of the said dictionary has also been written by Asmah Hj. Omar (1971:177-190).

The Dewan claims that the dictionary listed about 28,000 entries, but on closer examination it is obvious that not all the 28,000 entries are lexical items. Some of the entries are only accronyms and abbreviations such as M.B., (Menteri Besar) *Chief Minister*, 'Markas Besar', M.B.A.L., (Markas Besar Angkatan Laut) *Navy Headquarters*, etc. Of course one would expect these items to be included in the dictionary

as they are also important in the language, but perhaps they should more appropriately be placed in the appendices. The *Kamus Dewan* is a general purpose dictionary, and is too comprehensive for use in school. It gives a lot of information on the origin of the entries especially lexical items borrowed from various local dialects or languages. It also included quite a lot of newly coined technical terms. However, since most of these technical terms are not fully assimilated into Malay, their inclusion appears to be misleading. It would probably be wiser to publish the technical terms in special purpose dictionaries.

Most people consult a dictionary to find the meanings of words. They go to the dictionary for other types of information, too, but primarily to find out what a word means. To a large extent the *Kamus Dewan* has fulfilled this function well; however, it manifests weaknesses here and there in providing such meanings. For instance *hitong* / *hitung* - is defined as '*perihal membuat kira-kira*'. Here the entry and its meaning do not tally in their class membership. *Hitong*, belongs to the verbal class while the meaning given is in the nominal class. The primary meaning of *hitong* should be put together with *menghitong* (verb) and '*perihal membuat kira-kira*' should be more suitably put together with *penghitongan* (noun) (Asmah Hj. Omar 1971:178). A further example is the meaning given of *dirus* which is '*mengayeri*'. It must be conceded that it is not always easy to define the meanings of words in a monolingual dictionary; however, here the assigned meaning is unacceptable since *mengayeri* means *to irrigate* whereas *dirus* means *to pour water (on plants)*.

Another defect is that, all the lexical items are defined in the positive sense, whereas some words carry only negative meanings, e.g. the word *peduli* is defined as '*menghiraukan - mengambil perhatian, endah akan*'. It is defined as having only a positive meaning, whereas it is used in the negative sense only. Thus a non-native speaker would tend to use the word in a positive sense, and that would be ungrammatical.

We now come to the subject of illustrations of the usage of the lexical entries. Some of the illustrations given are not only complicated and misleading but also ungrammatical. (Asmah Hj. Omar 1971:187). For instance, '*bahagia dan kelazatan yang sejati hanya terdapat bila mana kita mengingati Allah*' is given to illustrate the usage of *kelazatan*. This is too complicated. On the other hand '*Ariff sudah bermanja dicelah kangkangku*' is given to illustrate the use of *bermanja*. This is misleading. Finally '*kita mesti berhormat pada guru*' is given to illustrate the use of *berhormat*. This is, of course, ungrammatical in Malay.

The spelling system used is another important matter. Dictionaries must be able, among other things, to provide the correct spelling of words. There was a standard spelling system when the *Kamus Dewan* was published in 1970. However, the compilers chose not to use it. Instead, they listed all the possible spellings of each entry. Instead of providing a guide to spelling, they further confused their readers. The biggest source of confusion was in the use of vowel harmony, and the numerous cross references, e.g. telur → telor etc. All this could have been avoided if one spelling system had been adopted. Today there is a new spelling system, and the *Kamus Dewan* needs to be revised in accordance with this system.

Another aspect of the dictionary that requires comment are entries like *anggor*, *rana*, etc. If the authors meant these to be taken as root words, then the information given is misleading. These forms, are not roots in their own right. They are bound forms which occur only in the words *menganggor*, *merana*; but those affix-like initial syllables may not be segmented as they are integral parts of those words. Hence, they must be entered in the dictionary as *menganggor to be jobless* and *merana to pine*. Strangely enough, *merpisang*, *merkubang*, *merllilin*, etc. are entered as full lexical entries though the affix *mer* is quite obvious. There is inconsistency here.

There are other entries made in the dictionary which cannot be justified. Example *abidin*, *abadiah*, etc., which are from Arabic, and *abonemen*, *jagabaya*, etc. which are Indonesian. These words are neither used, nor potentially popular in Malay. The entry, therefore, of such lexical items cannot be justified.

As mentioned earlier, the *Kamus Dewan* also gives information on the dialectal origin of the lexical entries. One may call in question the advisability of double entries, e.g. *dirus* 'menyirami, mengayeri' and *jirus* 'menyiram dengan ayer'. These two lexical entries are probably only dialectal variations of the standard word *jirus*. A lexicographer should either decide which one should be entered into the dictionary, or if he enters both items he should indicate that one is a dialectal variant of the other.

Although, the discussion so far focusses mainly on the imperfections of *Kamus Dewan*, it has nevertheless many good points. It is the most up-to-date dictionary so far. It has listed the most number of lexical items since Wilkinson's. A good dictionary is often judged by the amount of lexical items it has listed.

Another point worthy of mention is the fact that the dictionary provides, on the whole, excellent definitions to the lexical items. The imperfections pointed out above should not affect its overall



excellence as a dictionary.

The dictionary also is a good source for idiomatic expressions in Malay. Idioms and popular expressions are listed under each lexical item concerned. In this respect, the *Kamus Dewan* is very thorough. For instance, under the lexical item *kapak axe*, the dictionary provides a whole list of expressions; *kapak menyelam beliong* (proverb), *bagai kapak naik peminangan*, *di mana kapak jatuh di situ baji makan*, *habis kapak berganti beliong*, etc. In other words it is very good formulation of Malay usage.

## 2.5. NEED FOR A NEW DICTIONARY TO STANDARDISE BAHASA MALAYSIA

It is difficult to measure the extent of the role played by any dictionary in standardising a language. However, we can possibly narrow down the scope by looking at some particular aspects of the language and examining how dictionaries influence changes. Words listed in a dictionary are supposedly the true record of the 'supra dialectal norm' of a language at that time and place. The dictionary then becomes a guide to acceptable usage of the language at that time. Its information may be on the meaning of a certain lexical item, its class, spelling, pronunciation, grammar, etc. So when dictionary plays such a role and this is accepted by a large number of speakers of the language, then it would be correct for us to assume that those speakers would use the language in a fairly uniform manner as a result of adhering to the same source of information.

### 2.5.1. The Need for a New Monolingual Dictionary

We have seen from my previous discussion that there is no dictionary that can be said to be completely satisfactory in every respect. Although the *Kamus Dewan* surpasses other dictionaries in many respects it needs itself to be perfected and updated. Another monolingual dictionary is needed. This could take the form of a revised edition of *Kamus Dewan*, which is currently being looked into, or could mean the preparation of a totally new dictionary. The proposed dictionary should of course incorporate all the good points found in earlier dictionaries. On the other hand it should also make up for the shortcomings of other dictionaries. Such a dictionary will in turn become a model for the current Malay language. This would indeed become instrumental in making the language standardised.



### 2.5.2. Etymology

Most of the dictionaries now available do not actually provide adequate etymological information on their lexical entries. Of course, they do provide such information; but it is mainly restricted to the geographical origin of such words. Thus most of them will indicate whether a word is borrowed from Sanskrit, English, Arabic, Indonesian, Minangkabau, Chinese, etc. But no information is given beyond this. A new dictionary can fill in the gap if it also includes other information on etymology also as, for example, information on its origin in Austronesian languages, and its proto-form, and its cognates in other languages akin to Malay. All this information is now available as the result of the work of such scholars as Dempwolff and Dyen. Maybe the usefulness of such an information may not appear to be clear at all, but nevertheless, such information could serve as an important factor in language planning. This is especially, true in language planning in Malaysia, where, in terminology coining, a great many new words are required to carry new meanings and concepts. Borrowing of new words or terms may take place from dialects or languages from the Austronesian family; as for example, the words *matang* *matured* and *aneh* *peculiar* were borrowed from Javanese. Such a dictionary containing etymological information will facilitate this process of using loan words or formatives from other Austronesian languages.

### 2.5.3. Spelling and Pronunciation

Before the introduction of the new spelling system in August 1972, Bahasa Malaysia was using the Wilkinson - Za'ba spelling system. It was employed in schools, colleges, universities as well as in government departments throughout the country. Although this spelling system was fairly standard and stable it contained some inconsistencies. (cf. Alisjahbana 1965:23). After the introduction of the new spelling system, as expected, there was a period of confusion. The switch over from one spelling system to another could not be expected to take place smoothly especially when it involved millions of people using the language. The government then gave a period of five years for the complete change to take place in order to minimise the difficulties caused especially to textbook publishers by the sudden change. The situation was quite chaotic in the beginning as the people were only given a small pamphlet on the new spelling system which gave no clear explanation in most cases. It was deceptive in the sense that the system looked very simple but in fact it was difficult to implement and posed many problems. The local newspapers switched to the new spelling system immediately. Rules were misinterpreted or overapplied in some

cases. The matter was further aggravated by the fact that no dictionary, written in the new spelling system, existed. Thus there was no guidance.

It goes without saying that this fact makes the learning of the language more difficult not only for non-Malays but for Malays as well; it retards the growth of the National Language. (cf. Alisjahbana 1965: 28). The new orthography requires the use of *i* or *u* in closed final syllables if the preceding syllable contained *i*, *a*, *u* or *e* (pepet) e.g. *bllek* → *bilik room*; *balek* → *balik to return*; *buket* → *bukit hill*; *betek* → *betik papaya*; *hidong* → *hidung nose*; *batok* → *batuk to cough*; *buloh* → *buluh bamboo*; and *telor* → *telur egg*. The phonemic justification is that the phonological distinction between /i/ and /e/; and /u/ and /o/ is neutralised in the above environments. This rule is simple and neat to linguists but quite misleading to the others. There are three main errors. First, the rule is over applied in some cases. Although the rule categorically states that the vowel occurring in prefinal syllable influences the one in the final; it has been interpreted in the reverse. Thus words such as *pereksa to examine* and *dewan hall* have been sometimes written as *periksa* and *dlwan* respectively. The second common error is that the rule is applied too liberally. Thus all words ending in *e* or *o* are sometimes spelled as *goring* for *goreng to fry* and *bolih* for *boleh can*, *beluk* for *belok to turn*, etc. The third type of widespread error is due to the failure to recognise that the letter *e* is now made to represent two phonemes /e/ and /ə/. As for example: *tempoh* [tempoh] *duration* and *tempoh* [tempuh] *to pass through*, *telor* [telor] *accent* and *telor* [telur] *egg*. According to the new rule, only the latter members of the two pairs will be affected and respelled as *tempuh* and *telur*, respectively. However the result is that both pairs of words are sometimes spelled as *tempuh* and *telur*.

This state of affairs has now lasted about one and a half years ever since the commercial publishing firms in the country have seen the financial opportunities of this situation and have begun to cash in with dictionaries in the new spelling system. Some have incorporated their misinterpretations of the rules of the new spelling system into their lexicons. Nevertheless they have performed one praiseworthy function, namely they have been acting as guides for correct spelling in the new system. Within months after their appearance, spelling became more stable and uniform again. This does not mean that the story has come to the end. No, there is need to introduce a new dictionary that contains no orthographic errors. It is now, when the orthographic system is still being standardised, that the people need such an authoritative dictionary to guide them.

Pronunciation is an important information to be included in a

dictionary. There are two consistent errors with respect to the present pronunciation of Malay. The first is the result of using one letter *e* to represent both /e/ and /ə/. All the dictionaries so far, except the *Kamus Pelajar*, the *Advanced Malay-English Dictionary* of Zainal Abidin Safarwan, and that of Winstedt and Wilkinson, do not indicate this phonemic distinction clearly. Winstedt and Wilkinson represent the two phonemes with *e* and *ě* respectively. However, since of late, the difference in the sound values between the two letters have been ignored. This is an unwise move, especially in view of the fact that Bahasa Malaysia is being actively learned by the population. This has led to the mispronunciation of the letter *e* (pepet) as [e] and not [ə]. The situation is further complicated by the fact that it is not easy to predict the occurrence of each. This has created some homographic but non-homophonous words, such as *sepak to kick* and *sepak to slap*, *bela to avenge*, and *bela to rear* etc.

The pronunciation is indeed a problem especially to non-active speakers of Malay. They have no guide to the sound value of *e* in orthography. Thus such words as *lebah* [ləbah] *bees* is pronounced as [ləbah]; *dengan* [dəŋan] *with* as [dəŋan], etc. In fact the tendency is to pronounce the letter *e* as [e] everywhere. The fact is, this error can be eliminated easily if the dictionaries included this information; and probably now is the time to introduce the letter *ě* into the spelling system again. This will help solve the problem.

The second problem is really very minor compared to the first one. However, it can be avoided by including the information on pronunciation in dictionaries, that when *k* occurs at the end of a syllable in Malay it should be pronounced as a glottal stop [ʔ], e.g. *masak* [masaʔ] *to cook*; *makna* [maʔna] *meaning*; and *letakkan* [lətaʔkan] *to emplace*, etc. It will be of help to language learners if such information can be obtained from dictionaries.

Often, the dictionary is the authority to be consulted for pronunciation. But most Malay dictionaries do not provide information on this matter. On the other hand the dictionaries could be used as one of the vehicles by which standard pronunciation may be disseminated, and hopefully become adopted by the new learners of the language. Another important aspect connected with spelling and pronunciation involves borrowed forms. Two ways are adopted to standardise the spelling and pronunciation of such forms. Firstly, the borrowed forms are completely assimilated into the Bahasa Malaysia phonological system; i.e. the words are completely re-spelled in Bahasa Malaysia orthography e.g. *science* → *sains*; *physic* → *fizik*; *pension* → *pencen*; etc. Secondly, only necessary alteration is introduced in the orthographic shape of the

borrowed terms. The word is then pronounced according to the Malay sound system. This is necessary, for a drastic change in the spelling of the borrowed words may create ambiguity and confusion. This is particularly true with respect to technical terms in the natural sciences. Take the following two homophonous endings in Chemistry terms. The ending *-ine* indicates the presence of nitrogen, while the ending *-in* refers to any compound. It is important to distinguish between these two endings because, for instance, if the word *amine* is re-spelled according to its pronunciation it would become *amin*. That would make it look as if it means *any compound*, as the case is in *stearin*, and then the distinction between the presence and absence of nitrogen is lost. The same problem arises in two homophonous endings *-ol* indicating alcohol in general such as *methanol*, *ethanol*, etc. and *-ole* indicating a five-membered heterocyclic compound such as *pyrrole*, *oxazole*, etc. If pronunciation becomes the basis for the transcription of these terms into Bahasa Malaysia, then the above terms will be re-spelled as *metanol*, *etanol*, *pirol* and *oksazol*. The distinction between the *-ol* and *-ole* suffixes will be lost. A serious problem is thereby created in chemistry. In view of such considerations, it seems reasonable to retain the distinction between the word endings, *-ine*, *-in*; (*amine* and *stearin*); and *-ole*, *-ol* (*pirole* and *metanol*) and assign them the Bahasa Malaysia sound values. Thus the words will be pronounced as [amine], [stearin]; [pirole] and [metanol]. These suggestions, if followed, should help in standardising Malay spelling and pronunciation.

#### 2.5.4. Grammar

Perhaps a dictionary can also influence the standardisation of a language by providing information on grammar. Current Malay dictionaries exclude a lot of grammatical information. More information on morphology syntax and semantics would probably be able to dispell a great deal of confusion in the nature and use of grammatical formatives and so on.

In the morphology of Malay, we may encounter numerous problems, just as in its spelling and pronunciation. Until recently, it was quite common for schools to adopt a certain attitude in the teaching of Malay, i.e. the children must not be bothered by the use of numerous affixes. The result is that voice affixes such as *me* 'active' *di* 'passive', *ter* 'non volitive active/passive' *ber* 'reflexive' and transitive affixes such as *kan*, *i*, and *per* are often ommitted. Thus we have textbooks propagating the teaching of sentences such as Ali panjat pokok (memanjat), Dia membenar saya pergi (membenarkan), Adek menyiram bunga

(*menyirami*), etc. This mistaken concept has created some inadequacies in the mastery of the language for both native and non-native speakers of Malay. Take the case of the use of *-kan* as a causative transitiviser. This is always confused with that of *meng-*, a prefix indicating active voice. This has resulted in incomplete derivation of such words as *mengguna to use*; which should have been first derived fully as a transitive verb *gunakan to cause to use*; followed by the active voice prefix *menggunakan*; or passive voice prefix *digunakan*. Alisjahbana has best summarised this situation by saying that it makes the morphology of the Malay language rather unstable (1965:29).

The confusion in the Malay morphology, especially in the application of transitive affixes, varies from one dialect to another. In the Kedah dialect, the affixes *-kan*, *di-* and *-nya* are completely absent; the suffix *-kan* to a very limited extent is replaced by the prefix *per-* (e.g. *panjangkan to lengthen*, becomes *perpanjang*), and the passive form (*di-*) is replaced by *anjing itu kena pukol dengan Mat* (*anjing itu dipukol oleh Ahmad*) (cf. Ismail Hussein 1969:2). There are other examples but the ones cited above will suffice to illustrate the nature of the problem.

There is, of course, an urgent need to re-assess and re-state the function of the affixes in Malay in order to meet the new role it plays in the National Language. Although some work has been done along these lines (Asmah, 1968: Abdullah: 1974) the propagation of such findings have not taken place as actively as it should. An inclusion of such information may probably help to standardise the morphology of Malay more rapidly. Although the *Kamus Dewan* does include some of these bits of information, a more adequate illustration and listing of the application of the affixes is necessary.

Another important point is the fact that a new dictionary is required which will not only provide the above information but also indicate the form class of each entry. No doubt the form class may shift according to usage, but at least the primary class should be stated to guide the users of the dictionary.

It is always a problem to a lexicographer to determine how much grammatical information should be included in a dictionary. In fact a dictionary is to be used in conjunction with a grammar book, for the dictionary may not replace or make a grammar book redundant altogether.

Some lexical entries have certain restrictions in their occurrence. It would certainly help the users of a dictionary if they can obtain this type of grammatical information. For instance *banyak many* can only occur with no human nouns; and *ramai many* only with human nouns. Another example is the word *peduli to care*, which can only be used in

the negative sense and not in the positive sense. Such grammatical information is, of course, also useful in standardising usage. Word order is another important matter in Malay, where a change in the word order can result in a significant change in the meaning of certain lexical items. For an example, *ayam bapak* means *father's chicken* while *bapak ayam* means *rooster*. Of course it is difficult to ascertain how much of this type of information should be included.

Another aspect of grammatical information that can influence standardisation is the fact that there are few affixes in Malay but each carries many functions, varying according to the context and base forms. For instance, *me-* in *membawa* indicates active voice, but *me* in *malayang* indicates an active state, while *me* in *menggunung* indicates merely a state, and *mengantuk* indicates reflexive action, etc.

The next important matter on the information to be included in a dictionary relates to the semantic information. What is meant by this, of course, is information on the synonyms and antonyms of various lexical items. The advantage of providing this type of information may not seem to be very clear, but it certainly has an implication on the development of the language. The availability of synonyms and similar semantic information will no doubt help to modernise the language in the sense that a description in that language could be made more precise. For instance, the words *hancur*, *luluh* both mean *to disintegrate* but they also indicate differences in the manner and degrees of disintegration of rocks in geography.

Thus we see that if the proposed new dictionary can include all this information it will indeed become a very influential tool in standardising Malay.

### 3. ROLE OF DICTIONARY IN STANDARDISATION

#### 3.1. WHAT IS STANDARDISATION

By standardisation is meant efforts to create a 'norm' of standard usage of a language in an area where various social and local variations exist (Punya Sloka Ray, 1963:12). In most countries in Asia and Africa, a standard language often coincides with the official language of the country. The official language is of course the language of official pronouncements and administration as well as education. The official language is often the factor that encourages solidarity, unification and modernisation. In other words, standardisation is a natural process in the growth of languages for the benefit of social, cultural and political integration of these nations (Alisjahbana 1965: 15).

A standardised language is, therefore, a fairly uniform norm or the supra-dialectal usage by speakers of a language. Here we are treating language as a tool of communication by which the speakers of a community interact. In such a situation then the more efficient a standardised language is, the more it is desirable. By efficiency is here meant the capability of the language to express what its speakers want to say.

The norm varies with respect to place and time. Although in the ideal situation, the norm should not vary, that is commonly conceded as an impossible situation. There will always be variation in a standard language, as the result of geographical as well as social dialects. For instance a speaker of Malay from the South may pronounce a in word final position as [ə], whereas a speaker from the North may pronounce it as [a]. There are other variations, such as the selection of affixes. For instance, the Northern (Kedah) dialect of Malay prefers the transitive affix *per-* to *-kan* in deriving transitive verbs (e.g. *perhangat* (North), *hangatkan* (South) *to heat*). Of course, there are also grammatical differences, too.

Language also changes in time. It is easy to see that the norm of a standard language may change from one period to another. What is considered standard at this time may not be accepted as such in the future. In other words, language is constantly undergoing a process of changes; thus the norm of a standard likewise changes.

### 3.2. DUAL ROLE OF DICTIONARIES IN STANDARDISATION

It was commonly accepted in the eighteenth century that dictionaries should try to standardise the spelling, pronunciation, meaning and general usage of words. In fact it was sometimes held that dictionaries should fix the words of good English for all time. Nowadays, on the contrary, it is generally felt that dictionaries should be limited to recording language development. However, although the twentieth century point of view is different from that of the eighteenth century, the fact remains that dictionaries inevitably act as language standardisers (cf. Whittaker, 1966:25).

The role of dictionaries in standardisation is twofold. It formulates and propagates the standard norm of a language. A dictionary is a compilation of lexical items existing in one language at any one time. It records the meanings, and other aspects of language such as spelling, pronunciation, grammatical usage current at that time and place. Such a collection of information about a language, if scientifically recorded, would represent the true usage of that language then. Such a dictionary would contain accurate statements on correct and acceptable usage.



The other role of dictionaries is that of furthering language development, by bringing about uniformity in spelling, pronunciation, grammar, etc. This can be achieved, if the dictionary gains the confidence of the people since it contains accurate statements on correct and acceptable usage. Such dictionaries will go a long way in helping to standardise a language. If the speakers consult such dictionaries over matters like spelling, pronunciation, grammar, etc. it will eventually propagate the correct and acceptable usage recorded in the dictionary.

### 3.3. NEED FOR UPDATING DICTIONARIES TO KEEP UP WITH LANGUAGE CHANGES

The imperfections of the *Kamus Dewan* have been discussed above in 2.4. In addition to that already mentioned in that section, one should also point out that Bahasa Malaysia has changed since its publication. Therefore, at least the lexical entries in that dictionary have to be recast in accordance with the newly approved spelling system. There are also imperfections in the *Kamus Dewan* that will have to be improved to enable that dictionary to propagate a standard usage of the language. It is because of this that an updated monolingual dictionary for Bahasa Malaysia is needed. Such a dictionary would not only speed up the whole process of standardisation but also ensure the growth of the National Language.

## 4. CONCLUSION

As stated earlier, Bahasa Malaysia now has been able to cope with its new roles as the language of administration and education. It has gone a long way since it started as a language full of inadequacies. What is probably more significant, however, is that we are now in an advantageous position to be able to plan the development of a supra-dialectal norm to be used as a standard. It is an opportunity for linguists to be more active in language engineering, for the sake of a more standard and modernised language. The progress attained so far, of course allows us to be quite optimistic that the implementation of Bahasa Malaysia as the sole National Language of the country will be successful.



DICTIONARY MAKING AND THE STANDARDISATION OF MALAY  
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## THE PROBLEM OF A STANDARD ROMANISATION SYSTEM OF MANDARIN CHINESE

Dr. Hengtse Tu

Chinese is a non-alphabetic language. In the first place, one cannot find the pronunciation of a word from spelling as most Western people do, one has to memorise the sound of each of the 5,000 often-used Chinese words or characters. In this sense, Chinese is not phonographic, but ideographic. In the second place, the writing of Chinese words is no easy job. While there are a number of such simple pictographs as one line for one, two lines for two, a square for mouth, composed of five to fifteen strokes, some words (28 strokes for a '*chisel*', 32 strokes for '*to beg*') are practically impossible for anyone to write correctly. In order to overcome these difficulties, some kind of alphabet naturally comes to mind.

With the coming of Christian missionaries from the West in the seventeenth century, the Romanisation system was introduced into China. Attempts were made by the missionaries to do away entirely with the old written characters and to substitute for them the Roman letters in their zeal to teach common people to read the Bible. Romanisation was also applied in a few books and pamphlets, mostly of a religious character, but their use did not extend appreciably outside the Christian communities or beyond those who otherwise would be illiterate. Similar experiments were followed by Chinese scholars, and besides Roman letters, other kinds of phonetic signs were devised. These experiments had however met the fate of those originated by the Westerners. Indeed, any attempt to substitute a phonetic script for the time-honored forms of Chinese words must face the fact that the large part of the existing literature would be unintelligible if transcribed in an alphabet. Hence, the later development turned to a two-fold purpose: to facilitate

learning of Chinese language, particularly by foreigners; and to transcribe Chinese names into Romanised form. No less than twenty systems have thus appeared since the turn of the century. Among them four are widely supported and adopted by lexicographers: (1) the Wade system, (2) the Yale system, (3) the National Romanisation (Kwoyeu Romatzyh), and (4) the Pinyin system.

The Wade system, or the Wade-Giles system, the oldest of the four, was originally devised by Thomas Wade, and later revised by Herbert A. Giles, both in the nineteenth century. It is still the most widely used of all Romanisation systems, especially in spelling Chinese names in English books and periodicals.

The Yale system was completed by the Institute of Far Eastern Languages, Yale University, contracted by the United States Government to revise a War Department dictionary of spoken Chinese published in 1945. The first dictionary in the Yale system was published in 1965 by the Yale University Press. The system has proved to be more effective than the Wade system in teaching Mandarin to English-speaking people.

The National Romanisation (Kwoyeu Romatzyh) was first promulgated by the Chinese Government in 1928. In China, much of its significance was however taken away by the National Phonetic Symbols (non-Romanised alphabet) adopted by the government ten years earlier for teaching Mandarin in schools. The revival of interest in the National Romanisation was seen in Lin Yutang's *Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage*, published in 1972.

The Pinyin system was originally promulgated by the communist authorities in Peking and was introduced in the sixties to the United States by two dictionaries in this system: *Modern Chinese-English Technical and General Dictionary*, McGraw Hill, 1963, and *Chinese-English Dictionary*, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1963. This is the latest addition to the Romanisation movement, but it is still far from perfect.

## 1. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

All Romanisation systems follow two fundamental principles. First, among the different pronunciations of Chinese words in different places, a standard one is adopted for the Romanisation. Second, the sounds of a set of Roman letters are defined so to represent the pronunciation of Chinese words.

A unified written language for the whole mass of Chinese people appeared as early as the third century B.C. when Emperor Chin Shih Huang ordered his prime minister Li SSu to codify all Chinese characters. This results in the fact that differences between the numerous dialects

in provinces and counties are largely those of pronunciation. Almost from the very beginning, the dialect of Peking, or called Mandarin, was chosen as the standard pronunciation to be represented in the Romanisation. This pronunciation was again formally recognised by the government as the National Spoken Language (Kuo Yu) in the official dictionary, *Kuo Yin Tzu Tien*, published in 1920 by the Ministry of Education.

The second principle calls for analysis of the Chinese syllable. Each syllable contains three elements: an initial, or the beginning sound, which is the initial consonant; a final, or the rest of the syllable, which is either a vowel, a diphthong or a vowel with nasal ending; and a tone, or quality of the voice. As the tone exists only in Chinese, and is usually indicated by special signs, the Roman letters are primarily adopted to represent the initials and finals. While all systems adopt practically equal number of the Roman letters, definition of the sound of these letters varies with each system. For example, a '*table*' in the Wade system is represented by CH0, in the Yale system by JW0, in the National Romanisation by JU0, and in the Pinyin system by ZHU0.

The tone is the most delicate part of the pronunciation of a Chinese word. A mistake in tones in speaking Chinese makes it at once unintelligible, just as in English pronunciation of *police* as *pol'ice*. In Mandarin, there are four tones, namely, (1) upper even tone (pitch 55); (2) lower even tone (pitch 35); (3) rising tone (pitch 214); and (4) falling or going tone (pitch 51). It should be understood, however, that the actual height and interval of these tones are relative to the sex and voice of the individual, and to the mood of the moment. In general, each of the four steps in the preceding scheme varies between a tone and a tone and a half, so that the tonal range is somewhere between an augmented fifth and an octave. Needless to say, the pitch of the speaking voice in Chinese, as in a non-tonal language, moves portamento instead of jumping discontinuously from one pitch to another. Consequently, only on instruments with sliding pitch, such as the cello, can one give a fair imitation of Chinese tones, while a keyed instrument cannot remotely approximate any except the first tone, that is the upper even tone. By all means, a tone is an integral part of a Chinese syllable, and therefore in written Chinese, the tonal marks are essential; they cannot be optional, dropped or added at the risk of confusion.

The four major Romanisation systems have different ways to mark the tones. In the Wade system, the tones are indicated by a figure at the right-hand top corner of the Romanised word: 1 (first tone), 2 (second tone), 3 (third tone), 4 (fourth tone). In the Yale and the Pinyin

systems special symbols are used instead of figure: - (gāu) for first tone; ' (rén) for second tone; ˇ (mǎ) for third tone; and ` (hàu) for fourth tone. In the National Romanisation, tones are indicated by changing spelling. It is said that this is the most characteristic feature of the National Romanisation system, and that "the purpose for which this feature was incorporated was for convenience in writing and printing." (Yuen-ren Chao and Lien-sheng Yang: *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*). But the rules are too complicated to learn, and the spelling becomes so confused that it compromises the advantage of pronouncing the word outright at sight.

## 2. A STANDARD ROMANISATION SYSTEM

A good Romanisation system of Chinese should meet several conditions. First of all, it should give an automatic pronunciation of the consonant sounds. That is, if one reads the consonant letters with their usual English values, one makes a sound that is exactly right or something that is near enough so that people will have no trouble of understanding. This is not achieved in any of the four systems. HS and J (near R) in Wade, SY in National Romanisation, NG and SY in Yale, and Q, X, ZH in Pinyin, all represent very different sounds from their English pronunciation. In the Wade, ambiguity also results from the use of apostrophe for aspirated syllable (P, P'; T, T'; K, K', etc.).

Then, the representation of the vowel sounds should be regular and easy to pronounce. The vowels have the regular values in European continent (French, German, Spanish, etc.), not the English. In Romanisation, there is similar regularity, but some of the vowel sounds are difficult for foreigners to reproduce. Noticeable are IH (SHIH), Ũ (SSU), YUEH in the Wade; IE, IUE, Y (JY, SHY) in National Romanisation; EE, Z (as vowel), R (as vowel) in the Yale; IE, UE in the Pinyin.

Finally, there is the problem of the tones. They cannot helpfully be described, they must be illustrated. Here is the 'mission impossible' of all Romanisation systems. What we can expect of a standard Romanisation system is, therefore, one in which the first two conditions (consonants and vowels) can be met more satisfactorily than all the existing systems, certainly not the third problem.



## ON THE STANDARDISATION OF LANGUAGES

Takuji Sasaki

1. Dialects and Common Language
2. The Common Language and the Standard Languages
3. Standardisation and Education for the Standard Language

I would like to make emphasis on the standardisation of the Japanese language in particular. In Japan the movement towards standardisation of the language started very early; mainly in cities or in feudal lands, along with the advance of the system of education called 'terakoya kyoiku' or 'education in a temple school'. His old fashioned system prevailed during the Edo period (1603-1867) and it employed the old literary style of the written language of the time. This 'bungo' was destined to be transformed through the modernisation of Japanese society, into the standard language of modern Japan. This 'standard Japanese' has now spread throughout the country.

### 1. DIALECTS AND COMMON LANGUAGE

All individual idiolects slightly vary from each other. When these differences extend, from the single speaker, to a large group, we call this a dialect. At first, therefore, there is only one language which, after a long period of time, becomes divided by the generated dialects into areas separated by boundaries as clearly defined as rooms separated by walls.

Nowadays all countries have at least some native dialects. These regional differences have gradually arisen over countries of slow development or, perhaps, more rapidly, by reason of certain social phenomenon (but this latter aspect belongs to the field of social science).

Topographical factors or contacts with alien languages may also

contribute to the development of dialects or, according to Burling, differences of written script may also play a part. Vastness of the community, class or vocational discrimination are also contributing factors.

According to J.L. Dillard, and other sociolinguists a designation for something between a language and an idiolect like these is called variety, sociolect, or genus.

With the progress of civilisation, groups of languages today have become so important that the range of society is defined in accordance with the community areas where a common language or dialect is used. A unit of society is usually considered to be a country or a state, but it is often the case that one language spreads over several countries.

The formation of dialects within each country or state has many twists and turns. Dialects are defined as including all linguistic phenomena: phonological, lexical and grammatical. We in Japan define dialects precisely. Those which have particularly local characteristics of words and phraseology including local accents are called 'rigen', thus distinguishing them from other larger dialects called 'hogen'. It is considered that Japanese dialects stem from the parent Japanese proto-language (which is not, however, necessarily a substratum). The Okinawan dialect is considered to have a close relationship with the original. Generally speaking the most common language spoken in Japan nowadays derives its components from the dialect of the Tokyo area. Yet again the Tokyo dialect itself differs from 'downtown', 'Yedo (Edo)' dialect (named after the old term for this area of the city).

This common modern dialect naturally differs greatly from the hypothetical Japanese 'parent' language. Study, in the area of proto-Japanese, has been so far behind, that it is still unclearly defined.

In Japan both the regional 'parole' and a common dialect are spoken at the same time. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to suppose that the common dialect has filtered through to nearly one hundred percent of the population. In their use of language, most people are bi-dialectal or diglossic.

#### 1.1. DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE GENERAL IDEAS OF THE RULES OF DIALECT AND COMMON LANGUAGE

It is considered that these are some important points of difference between the common concept of rules governing dialects and common languages.

The first point concerns the difference of area in which a dialect is spoken. A dialect is used in a comparatively narrow community while

a common dialect (or language) is used nationally or internationally. (There are, of course, two meanings of the term 'common dialect': one used in connection with a comparatively narrow area; the other in a vast district. I will not attempt to deal with this distinction at the moment.)

Secondly, a common language is used in official life while a dialect is used in unofficial life. Thus each differs in use and standpoint: a common language is a universal while a dialect has limitations.

Thirdly, since each differs in use, it is a matter of course that a common language is always expressed in literature while a dialect seldom is. Therefore the former is stable and refined by its connection with literature and the latter changeable. This is especially true of the Japanese language as it is today. The common language usually develops from the 'langue parlée' into 'langue écrite' and then into scientific and cultural languages.

## 1.2. THE DIFFERENCE IN THE LINGUISTIC ASPECT

Of course, these differences depend on the languages spoken in each given country, society or district. Three aspects will be considered: phonological, grammatical and lexical together with an examination of diachronic and synchronic differences.

First, the phonological aspect. In the Japanese, language the series of vowels (diphthongs and triphthongs but mainly diphthongs), tend to change into monothongs or long vowels. For example: *nai* becomes *ne* or *nē*, *atatakai* becomes *atatakē*. (The former belongs to the common dialect the latter local dialect.)

Even in modern Japanese some sounds of the common dialect have already undergone a historical change. For example: *sei* has become *sē* and *hei*, *hē*, this can be seen in the words *seito pupil sēto* and *heitai soldier hētai*.

This phenomenon also occurs even when semi vowels or /h/ sounds are inserted into words. For example *nan to iu koto* (/nan to ihu koto/) *common* becomes *nan chū koto dialect* or *colloquial* also *tefutefu* (/tehu tehu/) changes to *chōchō butterfly*. This illustrates a diachronic change in the common dialect.

These changes are noticeable also in other languages, for example, similar sound changes occur in the English 'cockney' accent when compared to standard English R.P.

In the French 'langue Commune' not all of the written letters are pronounced. There is a regularity in this muting of letters which seems to follow different rules from those of other French dialects. It is conceivable that the 'langue Commune' speaker thinks of the

silent letters when he is speaking, but his colloquial practice involves liaison between the last silent letter of one word with the first letter of the next (if that word starts with a vowel letter).

Now, secondly, let us examine the grammatical aspects of the common language and dialect. Every official language or language family has its characteristic distinctions between common language and dialect. Let us take the Japanese language for example: aside from the fact that dialects preserve, as in other languages, the old forms; it is the usual case that the sound systems of dialects 'fuse' individual sounds into one. (This is sound-fusion rather than true syncretism). This, of course, comes from the principal of economy in sound, and this fusion occurs in substantival construction (mentioned earlier) but in addition to this phenomenon also appears in the cases of substantives plus case making particles) declinable words plus case making particles, and in the case of particles plus particles. (We call these particles 'ji' or dependant words).

Examples (written in the Japanese style of Romanisation) of substantives ≠ 'ji'.

watasi wa → \*watasya or watsya or atya  
I (subjective particle)

ore wa → oraa  
I

are wa → aryaa (\*araa or \*ara)  
that

kore o → karyoo  
~~this~~ (objective particle)

ore no tokoro → orantoko (\*orentoko or \*orentokoro)  
my place

boku no uti → \*bokunti  
my home

yama niwa → \*yamanyaa  
mountain in

(\* These can be included in the colloquial style of the common Japanese)

Declinable words ≠ 'ji'

ari wa sinai → \*aryaa sinai  
cannot be

deki wa sinai → \*dekyaa sinai  
impossible

'ji' ≠ 'ji'

itte wa (≠ negation) → \*ittya  
go

ii dewa nai ka ii \*zya nai ka  
(you) don't mind, do you?

toranakereba → \*toranakya  
*if you don't take*

(\* These can also be included in the colloquial style of the common Japanese)

In conclusion, it may be noticed that these words are phonetically very closely related to each other since they are spoken.

In the case of the common dialect, however, which is usually written, all the syllabaries are conspicuous and therefore the sounds can be kept from changing (\_\_\_ syllabarisation).

This syllabarisation renders the common dialect readily open to morphological analysis and restrained sound changes, while the lack of written syllabaries in local dialects allows free and unrestrained sound changes.

Thirdly, the lexical aspects. There is a great difference in meaning between the vocabularies of the common language and those of dialects. In Japanese, especially, dialect words and phrases display enormous gradations of shades of meaning.

So far, I have examined differences between common language and dialects mainly with reference to the language of Japan. Social environments in other countries, however, differ and this is reflected in their dialects.

For example, let us examine the Romance dialects. Latin, as the official language and an expression of the power of the Roman Empire spread throughout its territories and particularly throughout the countries we now call 'Romance'. The language of the administrative ruling clans filtered through to their subjects, then according to R.A. Hall a process called 'nativisation' or creolisation, began. But the changes were by no means consistent, Latin was in each case affected by the indigenous language of the territory; different characteristics developed. We now call these Latin variations 'Romance Languages'. Latin was affected most positively in the northern districts of France (Jaul) and Roumania.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, it may be taken for granted that all the negotiations among the countries of the Roman Empire were conducted in Latin. Even if the negotiations were carried out among people of a lower class

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<sup>1</sup>A language is nativized when it is taken over by a group of speakers who have previously used some other language, so that the new language becomes the native language of the group. This process of language-replacement has taken place many times in history, as when the tribes of Italy, Gaul, and Iberia gradually gave up their earlier languages and went over to Latin, which then developed into the various Romance tongues, being handed down from one generation to another by a tradition of first-language learning.  
 (R.A. Hall, Jr., *Pidgin and Creole Languages*)

Latin was the official language used. Broadly speaking Latin played the role of the lingua franca at that time, and so, to a lesser extent, did the 'reduced' Latin, the common Romance.<sup>1</sup>

Next, may I draw your attention to the Indonesian language group: the Malayo-Polynesian language family. Within this family languages display similar characteristics, for example:

English	Malagasy	Indonesia	Tagalog
<i>die</i>	<i>fati</i>	<i>mati</i>	<i>patay</i>
<i>stone</i>	<i>vato</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>bato</i>

(Sakiyama 1974)

In the Philippines, it is said that there are eight major dialect groups or eight groups of languages. That is to say, that in one country there are several ethnic groups. This resembles the situation in southern Europe, but where, however, there are several independent countries in place of one country of the Philippines. Among the eight major cultural-linguistic groups of the islands the chief language is Tagalog. This, together with English, has, broadly speaking, the role of the lingua franca. In Japan the Tokyo dialect plays the same role as Tagalog in the Philippines. J.L. Dillard and other sociolinguists term this 'koinē'.<sup>2</sup>

In short a common language (not a common dialect) falls into the categories of either pidgin, creole or lingua franca depending on the country or district where it is spoken.

The official language is the one approved by the government on the basis of its being widely used. In the case of an international auxiliary language, such as Esperanto, an artificially constructed language, developed and used largely in eastern Europe, although not exactly a pidgin language, it may be considered as such in the future.

## 2. THE COMMON LANGUAGE AND THE STANDARD LANGUAGE

The common language is commonly termed 'Sein' and the standard language 'Sollen'. The standard language must be an ideal covering all aspects phonological, structural and lexical. M. Iwamoto says we should lay down criterions or standards on the three aspects. The resultant language should then, in consequence, be called the 'Standard

<sup>1</sup>J.L. Dillard, *Black English*, p.80.

<sup>2</sup>J.L. Dillard, *Black English*, p.302.

Koine is the term for a 'common' dialect which lacks the prominent features of the more conventional dialects of a language. It is the end result of dialect leveling. Impressively often, the koine is characterised by the speakers of a language as 'good' speech in that language. It tends to be required of actors or television announcers. A koine is often a standard dialect, but there is no necessary identity between the two.

Language'. As a matter of course, legislation is ultimately required to establish this.

R. Ishiguro says that we ought to endeavour to enhance constructively the efficiency and cultural value of this consequential standard language. He adds that this is rather easier to realise in a unilingual rather than a bi- or multilingual state.

On the other hand a common language does not necessarily demand idealism and legislation. Even if the common language is undesirable in expression, if it is spoken on a nationwide scale, it is still defined as a common language. This is also true of a creolised language. T. Shibata mentions that a common language is less normative and artificial than a standard one. Therefore it can be said that most countries possess only a common and not a standard language. Yet, in a unilingual country such as Japan, a common language as actually admitted as the standard. However T. Iwai contends that although there is a reasonably high standard common language in Japan, it is not realised as such by the general public. He adds that the language of text books has led to the modern standard language of the country.

Indeed, in Japan, language textbooks have been closely studied since the Meiji Restoration, about one hundred and ten years ago. Before the advent of the mass communications media they were the only reliable way transferring knowledge. Terms and phraseology were modelled after the language textbooks. (The standard was therefore written rather than spoken.)

People were able to distinguish an official situation from a private one by the use of certain words, phrases and phraseology. People of a low cultural level were not, however, able to recognise these distinctions. Socio-linguists call this state of affairs 'diglossic' rather than bidialectal. In the field of education the peculiar standard language became known by the technical term of 'classroom' or 'school' Japanese.

After the war, home-town dialects were mixed and corrupted due to the demobilisation of soldiers and, together with the extraordinary development of mass communication this resulted in the nationwide overflow of the Tokyo accent; which was until that being the influence of the accent of the announcers of the mass communications networks.

That is to say, they played the role of a koiné. Now we call this Tokyo accent the 'Network Standard Dialect'. Another major cause that should not be overlooked is the fact that people were no longer contented with localism and chose to centralise culture.

### 3. STANDARDISATION AND EDUCATION FOR THE STANDARD LANGUAGE

After the war the remarkable development of mass communications media resulted in the possessing of radio or television sets by almost every household in Japan. The network standard dialect has become familiar to all the people in the countries including those inhabitants of the outlying islands except for the remotest islands of Ryukyu. The network standard dialect is almost the same as the common Tokyo dialect which we call 'standard accent'. However, exposure to the standard accent through radio or T.V. does not necessarily result in the listener learning to use it in conversation. He may, however, be compelled to use it by vocational demands, he may use it unconsciously or, most importantly, environmental, social and cultural factors determine his speech. It is unlikely, if we belong to a low-culture group, that we will adopt the network standard dialect.

According to J.L. Dillard, when there is no environmental pressure on the American negroes living in ghettos to use Standard English they do not use it but continue to speak their nature language (Non-Standard-Negro English). Dillard says that television shouldn't be considered as some kind of miracle worker. The most striking example of the medium failure concerns children reared in cultural ghettos: vast amounts of time are spent before the television set but they nevertheless do not learn standard language. Educational activities, it would seem, should not involve television unless material particularly relevant to the pupil is used.<sup>1</sup>

The case of the American negro is regrettable. They are neither bidialectal nor bicultural. They do however form a small but strong cultural group.

In Japan the so-called 'Standard Japanese' was thought of as the modern written language: it was used only for writing purpose. It is therefore more proper to say we engaged in diglossia or diglottism rather than bidialectalism.

This state of affairs resembles almost exactly that of the German language. There is written form of German which differs from the spoken forms of Regional language.

J.A. Fishman and E. Lueders-Salmon say that Regional German is used in neither reading nor writing as far as the indiginous diglottic system is concerned. Over a period of years a variety of non-conversational German is learned, slowly and enjoyably, to be used for the purposes of reading and writing (and also some types of signing and reciting). Those people of a high cultural level tend to gather a

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<sup>1</sup>J.L. Dillard, *Black English*, p.285.



better understanding of this language than do others.<sup>1</sup>

In Japanese schools we still have the so-called 'classroom-dialect' that has been used by school children for many years. It is the 'written standard dialect' which is however spoken in the classroom.

When a local dialect is outstandingly characteristic and cultural areas are decentralised, the standard language does not spread throughout the country in question. People are satisfied with the local dialect.

In the case of Japan, since the Meiji era (1868-1913), owing to centralism of education and to *mombusho*'s (the Department of Education) unification of language textbooks used in elementary schools, written Japanese has played the part of the 'Standard Language', local dialects, as has been mentioned, were not appropriate to the written language. Before the Meiji Restoration there was no necessity for the peasants to learn to read or write. This was restricted to some administrators, rulers, writers and scholars. These latter used the traditional written language called 'Bungo'. They established understanding between themselves by using 'bungo' even for spoken communication.

Thus, it may be noticed that the educational and cultural groups tended towards centralism while the majority of the population were still divided into several cultural areas, however, the more brilliant a cultural centre became, the more strongly were the people around it influenced. In those cases which had no cultural centre, development proceeded without influence or by contacts on the borderline of the area with other areas. For example, in the Kansai District the characteristic local culture, the centre of which existed in Kyoto and Osaka, persisted. In the northernmost Tohoko District and in the southernmost Kyushu District there were no centres and their cultures therefore show marked individual development. Most of the people belonging to these districts, especially Kansai people, had a definite pride in their own local culture. Nowadays some of the Kyoto and Osaka people are still ethnocentric.

However, with the flourishing interchange of inhabitants between center and province - the development of industries was brought about, railways were built, nice facilities were arranged and mass communications media increased the exchange of personnel. Local culture was absorbed and assimilated into the central 'civilised' culture. When this phenomenon is regarded linguistically these aspects emerge: elites in the provinces have enjoyed the central civilised culture and

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<sup>1</sup>Joshua A. Fishman and Erika Luedes-Salmon, 'Social Repertoires', in Courtney B. Cazden and Vera P. John and Dell Hymes (eds.), *The Functions of Language in the Classroom*, p.80.

they have constructed a unitary linguistic community, even if they lived a great distance from the cultures centre (Burling recognises the same state of affairs in the communication of Hind's culture).

Thus they have enjoyed the prestige of speaking the central dialect. Except for the people of Kyoto and Osaka, the people in the provinces have not taken any obvious pride in their dialects that so ever, but have tended to regard them as inferior. Therefore, the rising generation is especially proud of speaking the 'Standard Language' which they assume to be more advanced and complete than their own local dialect. This dialect together with local cultures are the source of an inferiority complex amongst the young. The older inhabitants, however, still maintain a resistance against this modern tendency. Now that young people possess the so-called 'high' business mind they find the necessity of thinking about their own material future. Nowadays there are a great many job opportunities in a great city, like Tokyo, owing to the modern tendency towards centralisation in large urban areas.

Today, bidialectalism still exists in Kagoshima, Kyushu, Tohoku District, and Okinawa, so forth. Here provincial accents are very strong. There are five Japanese vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/. There are only three Okinawan vowels /a/, /i/, /u/. Before long these provincial accents may change to 'Standard accent'. The change will occur more rapidly in those areas than the areas with only slight differences in accent. It is a great pity that we rarely hear the strong accent of Kagoshima, however it is often possible to hear the Kansai accent.

In the Tohoku District the vowels the young people pronounce have recently assimilated traces of the standard accent. The Tohoku dialect differs greatly from that of Tokyo particularly in the articulation points of the vowels (for example the distinctions between /i/ and /e/ or /u/ and /o/ are not clear). But owing to mass communication and language education young people have come to be able to pronounce the Tokyo accent rather more easily than before. Thus they can now articulate both kinds of sounds and their range of articulation has therefore extended.

The increase of the intellectual middle class (due to the extension of secondary education) and the more beneficial economic climate have resulted in the young being able to enjoy the prestige of pronouncing words differently from their parents. This provides an interesting parallel with the state indicated by Burling in Indian society where there is a difference of speaking sound dependant on caste.

The difference between Tagalog and Pampango or Ilokano, in the Philippines, seems to resemble that of Tokyo and Okinawan dialect, which are considerably unlike one another. (Okinawa is more individual

than for example the Kagohisma dialect). Okinawa and Tokyo dialects are not precisely homogeneous. There is also the case of the Ainu language which is thought to be unrelated to Japanese (although the Ainu people have assimilated Japanese). Ainu and Japanese have, however, some lexical relationships. It holds a similar position to Celtic, Gaelic and Cymric to English in the British Isles or Breton and Basque to French and Spanish. Catalan also may be a dialect. People in the Philippines engage in bidialectalism but in the future some dialects may be assimilated in Tagalog. Or rather, Tagalog, which was chosen as the basis of the Philippine national language in 1937 may skillfully assimilated lexical elements from the other dialects. Tagalog and English, however, do not fuse or blend together simply. This, of course, is a bilingual case but sometimes words or phrases mingle. For example, according to Llamzon (1969):

'I did not know, may salo-salo pala sa inyo', or 'May I borrow your book, hindi ko maintindihan any lesson natin for today, eh!'  
They call it 'halo-halo (mix-mix)'.

Here is another example in Mexican-American.

- M - : But the person ----- de ----- de grande (*as an adult*) is gotta have something in his mouth.  
M - : Sera que quiero l tetera? para pacify myself? (*It must be that I want the baby bottle to ---*)  
M - : The type of work he did cuando trabajada (*when he worked*) he ----- what ----- that I remember, era regador (*he was an an irrigator*) at one time.  
M - : An' my uncle Sam es el mas agabachado (*is the most Americanized*).

(Gumperz and Hernandez (1969))

In Japan such conversations occur among Korean people, one of the country's minority races.

But to return to the main topic: all of the eight major Philippine languages are related. They are all cognate languages. Nowadays, in most Philippine provinces and cities the majority of the population can speak Tagalog plus their native cognate language, therefore we can say they are engaging bidialectalism. As mentioned earlier the other Philippine languages will be assimilated into Tagalog, since they all belong to the same language family and that Tagalog is now the dominant language in the Philippines. In Soviet Russia and other multi-lingual countries, where non-cognate languages are grouped together, things are different. Where different races or cultural-linguistic groups have their own dominant ranges in one country, or where races are completely linguistically mixed, they can not easily unify into languages, nor neither can they be persuaded to use a unitary 'standard' language.

These two cases are illustrated by the situation in the Soviet Union, China and India in the former instance and Jamaica and Surinam (both having Creole languages) in the latter. One has to consider a minor 'standard' language in each district or land. The juxtaposition of plural 'standards' presents a solution to this problem. However, in Jamaica there has recently been a movement against British English.

The island-born (Jamaican) whites became so creolized in their habits and speech that those not sent to England for education never did learn to speak proper British English. Yet however firmly the Creole was established, it has always been thought of as intrinsically less good (not to say bad), and every kind of preferment has been correlated with some command of educated English.

(Cassidy 1971)

Roumanian or Hindi and Urdu may have been creole languages in their early stages of development.

Now we must consider the issue of standardisation in Japan. What provisions have been for the spread of language education?

As mentioned earlier 'Standard Japanese' was, and is, based on the Tokyo dialect which was used among the upper and middle classes. It was, as a matter of fact, used only within the Tokyo city boundaries, in the environs they spoke other dialects, which even those people living in the city center found difficult to understand. A decade ago a number of minority dialects still existed positive phonological and lexical differences. Speaking from personal experience there was a time when I could distinguish the people of Northern Kyoto from those of Kyoto proper by the slight differences of accent they displayed. However, taken as a whole, Japanese was a unitary language. Mutual understanding was comparatively uncomplicated due to the 'bungo' style of communication: the typical Japanese written style which stemmed from the ancient style and played the role of the common language. It was extremely useful in the creation of centralised government.

Throughout the Meiji era, language policy developed rapidly and for the first time vocabularies were 'arranged'. (Mombusho, the Ministry of Education, published three 'word books'.) The style of the sentence at that time was 'kanbun' (using Chinese characters in Chinese order) style Japanese. That is to say 'kambun' was written in a Japanese order and was intended to be read in a Japanese manner. (See my paper that I read at the first conference here in Manila).

After the movement which insisted on the identity of written and spoken language, only those school textbooks written by Mombusho were used. In Japanese there is a problem beside that of 'kanji', that is the way using the 'kana' or Japanese syllabary. And, moreover, it is not at all convenient to use only the classical 'kana' therefore a

'classical to modern' kana dictionary was needed. Thus up to now, the greatest difficulties facing Japanese educationalists and linguists have been and still are, in the area of the written rather than the spoken language.

In 1902 a board of 'Investigation of Language' was founded, and in consequence, Chinese characters in common use were limited to 1936 in 1923. In 1934 a board of consultation (closely resembling the French Academy) was instituted. The board of consultation has lasted in common use and to arrange correct phonetic reading, and correct Japanese reading of 'kanji'. It also arranges the declensional 'kana' endings. The board first tackles a literal problem but from now on they should consider the problems of 'standard language' also together with normal study words. This was already being done by the board of investigation in 1902, one of the indications of this was the official function of the board; namely 'Investigation of dialects and election of a standard language'. It is regrettable that the problem has not been fully solved even today.

Let us consider vocabularies of phraseology for example. The Japanese chose the more difficult wording. It is now our duty to simplify this. 'Kango' (Chinese words, expression or phraseology) should be read in a Japanese way, or one should use the plainer 'kango', concrete not abstract, if possible.

ikaku ( 威嚇 ) (menace or threat)

odokasi (odokashi) ( おどかし )

kengi ( 嫌疑 ) (suspicion)

utagai ( 疑い、うたがい )

Also it is desirable to clarify inflection, specific usage, accent and articulation etc.: restrict the use of 'kanji', make honorific expressions normal (these present special difficulties) and consider loan words.

Since the Edo era (1603-1867) Japanese education has flourished remarkably, and especially since the Meiji era, general education has spread widely. Language education has been particularly accentuated in it. It has been indispensable for Japan's modernisation and to the execution of national policy. Education was focused on so-called 'standard' language, which was a particular written style of language. It certainly had some merits, one of which was that it fostered the rapid development of administration suitable to a modern power centralised nation. On the other hand, it fostered the development of 'kansonyahi' (which means 'respect bureaucracy, despise the citizens') and also it caused a tendency to overesteem the Tokyo dialect. Strictly

speaking the movement against local dialects arose in the provinces as well as the capital but the movement was not in any way successful.

After World War II education for 'Standard language' was again given in the provinces such as the Tohoku district and so forth. The reason that it has succeeded this time is the people's demand for a 'standard language'.

So, not only language education, will enable us to solve this issue and gain good results. We have to give more attention to education itself, language education must come second not first as in Germany.<sup>1</sup> The standardisation of a language depends on modernisation, stabilisation and civilisation of a nation.

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<sup>1</sup>J.A. Fishman and E. Luedes-Salmon, 'Social Repertoires', in Courtney B. Cazden and Vera P. John and Dell Hymes (eds.), *The Functions of Language in the Classroom*, p.80. During elementary school in particular, more attention is given to educating children and to encouraging them to express themselves clearly, forcefully, and effectively than to standard German reading and writing or formal language skills as a whole. seemingly, 'getting educated' and 'learning standard German' are not considered to be one and the same.

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## THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF MALAYSIA

Yahaya Ismail

The development of our National Language, that is, Bahasa Malaysia, comes hand in hand with the political consciousness of the people after the Second World War. The short period of Japanese occupation of Asian countries awakened in the minds of Asians new political consciousness to break away the shackles of colonialism. It was during the Japanese time that Bahasa Indonesia replaced Dutch as the official language of administration and education.<sup>1</sup> Though Bahasa Indonesia then was deficient and ill-equipped to be the vehicle for higher knowledge yet the sudden push into prominence by the Japanese made the language to develop faster than anticipated. This is possible because Indonesian nationalists, educationists, scholars and writers had already paved the way for the realisation of the national language since October 28th 1928<sup>2</sup> (S. Takdir Alisjahbana, 1966, pp.60-74).

The common heritage shared by the Indonesians and Malays in language, culture and religion (Islam) made Indonesian influence greatly felt among the Malays. When Indonesia declared her independence on the 15th

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<sup>1</sup>See S. Takdir Alisjahbana, *Revolusi Masyarakat dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, Kuala Lumpur: O.U.P., 1966, p.69. Also see comment made by the Indonesian literary critic, H.B. Jassin, who said, "We must be sincere in thanking the Japanese for without them there would be no revolution . . . With the Japanese occupation for three and a half years our souls have been ripe for revolution, a thing that would never happen in three and a half centuries of Dutch colonialism . . .". See H.B. Jassin, *Kesusasteraan Indonesia dimasa Djepang*, Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, 2nd print., 1954, p.7.

<sup>2</sup>The All Indonesia Youth Congress was held on that date in which three historic resolutions were unanimously accepted by the Congress proclaiming threefold ideal of one country, one nation and one language. Alisjahbana, *Revolusi Masyarakat dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, p.68. Also see A. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967, p.22.

August 1945 the Malays also shared the joys of freedom. Inspired by the Indonesian success in politics, and taking pride in the development of Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language) the Malay nationalists, teachers and journalists agitated for merdeka (independence) as well as fighting to make the Malay language as the national and official language of Malaya. They believed that freedom from the colonial yoke must bring about dignity and respect for the Malay language, which had been neglected during the colonial administration. The British colonial educationists considered the Malay language only suitable for primary education and the highest profession for Malay educated youths was to be primary school teachers.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly it was in the midst of Malay educated that Malay nationalism and linguistic nationalism took their roots. Fanned with the flame of Indonesian independence and the success of Bahasa Indonesia as the official and national language of Indonesia, the Malay cultural bodies held an important language congress in 1956<sup>2</sup> in Johor Baru which drew attention to the government of the need to make the Malay language as the national language of the country, and to introduce a new educational system which uses Malay as the medium of instruction.

The newly-elected Alliance government took up the cry of the Malay cultural bodies and in 1956 the *Razak Report* was introduced. This Report spelled out the national education policy which makes Malay as the medium of instruction from the primary to the university level. In order to have a good infra-structure for Malay language and education the Report also recommended the establishment of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Language and Literary Agency) whose term of reference is "to develop and enrich the national language; to promote literary talents especially in the national language; to print or publish or assist the printing or publication of books, magazines, pamphlets and other forms of literature in the national language as well as in other language; to standardize the spelling and pronunciation, and to coin appropriate

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<sup>1</sup>Under the British policy on Malay education the highest education one could achieve was to go to Sultan Idris Training College, a teacher's college, established in 1922. Hundreds of Malay educated teachers were trained here and it was considered as the center of Malay intellectualism before the War. The British policy was to give Malay youths some basic knowledge of reading, writing and simple arithmetic so as to equip them to be better farmers and fishermen than their parents. It was only through English education that Malay youth could aspire to be absorbed into the administrative system of the country as clerks, administrative officers and the like.

<sup>2</sup>This Congress known as *Kongres Bahasa dan Pesuratan Melayu yang Ketiga* (The Third Congress on Language and Literature) acted as a pressure group which finally spurred the government to introduce new policy on Malay Language and Malay education for the country. It was also in this Congress that the doyen of Malay letters, Tan Sri Zainal Abidin Ahmad better known as Za'ba, was made a 'Pendeta' (A Sage) by the Congress as a symbolic gesture for his untiring devotion and dedication towards the Malay language.

terminologies in the national language and to compile and publish a national language dictionary". (Report of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1967). To produce more qualified teachers in the national language established in 1956. In 1960 a review of the implementation of the Razak Report was published which is known as the *Rehman Talib Report*.

These two Reports mark a turning point in the development of Malay education and the Malay language. As a result of the national education policies Malay secondary schools with Malay as the medium of instruction were established all over the country. Also, steps have been taken by the Ministry of Education to convert the English medium schools into Malay medium beginning in standard one in 1964. By 1977 the present English medium schools will be fully converted into national schools using Malay or Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction. The first batch of first year university students coming from national schools will be in the campuses in 1978. In order to give more time for the Malaysian universities to plan for the language change (from English into Bahasa Malaysia) the Ministry of Education has set the target that first year courses in humanities and social sciences must be given in Bahasa Malaysia starting in 1983. By 1985 all first year courses in the sciences must be given in Bahasa Malaysia. The gradual language conversion is done because most of the academic staff are still not proficient in Bahasa Malaysia. In addition to it there is still lack of adequate university textbooks in Bahasa Malaysia. However Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (National University of Malaysia) has already used Bahasa Malaysia in all courses because it has a good number of staff to teach in the national language.

Bahasa Malaysia as the national language has been accepted by all Malaysians irrespective of ethnic origins. It is part and parcel of our national identity. English cannot be made as the national language because it is only spoken by a minority of the people and, furthermore, it is a foreign language in the context of the Malay world. People of diverse cultural backgrounds since centuries have used Malay as the lingua franca in the Malay Archipelago. Based on its long linguistic and cultural traditions it is valid that a language spoken by over 150 million people in this Malay area should be the national language. In a multi-racial country like Malaysia it is imperative and necessary to develop a national character and identity based on a common language. Thus Bahasa Melayu, as the official and national language, is enshrined in our constitution (article 152).

In order to inculcate a new awareness of the significance of the national language the government has spent millions of dollars in her

language compaigns since 1960.<sup>1</sup> Free national language classes have been set up for non-Malays to acquire the language. Ten years have been given for them to master the language. To exert the importance of Bahasa the government imposes a 'pass' in Bahasa Malaysia for the Lower Certificate of Education (Form Three) and the Malaysian Certificate of Education (Form Five) examinations in order to gain full certificates. Since the administration is done in Bahasa it is necessary that all government staff to pass Bahasa examinations in order to maintain their jobs as well as for promotions. To be a Malaysian citizen one has to know Bahasa Malaysia besides satisfying residential qualification. Universiti Sains Malaysia, for example, makes it compulsory for a graduate to pass in Bahasa Malaysia at Malaysian Certificate of Education (Form Five) level before he or she is conferred a degree.

At present the need is to develop and to enrich the national language in various fields of knowledge. There is a great urgency to translate important text books into Bahasa besides coining new terminologies in the sciences and the humanities. The gigantic responsibility is given to DBP. According to DBP Report in 1967 its 24 terminology committees had coined over seventy thousands new terms in Bahasa. Up to the end of 1966 (after a period of seven years from August 1959) the Dewan published a total of 475 titles of various publications and distributed well over 25 million copies of them. Now the Dewan has published a Malay-Malay dictionary, a series of Junior Encyclopaedia and a Science Encyclopaedia.<sup>2</sup> It has also published a number of science and non-scientific text books for use in secondary schools and universities. In order to standardise the terminologies and spelling systems of Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia both Malaysian and Indonesian governments have set up committees to look into the matter. The result so far is the standardisation of Malaysian-Indonesian spelling which is currently used in both countries. The close cultural and linguistic relationships between both governments will help tremendously in the

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<sup>1</sup>At the beginning the Federal government launched the *National Language Week* in 1960. Later, seeing good response from the public, the government launched the *National Language Month* from 1961 until 1966. A number of competitions for Malays and non-Malays were held such as debating competition, *pantun* competition, speech contest, starting from the district level until reaching the final at the Federal level in Kuala Lumpur. The author himself was deeply involved in the organising of the national language programme at the Federal level as an assistant secretary of the National Language Executive Committee from 1964-66.

<sup>2</sup>See Report of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1967.

exchange of knowledge and publications now and the future.

We do not deny that there is still much to be done in order to develop the potentials of Bahasa Malaysia. There are still insufficient books in Bahasa for secondary and university education. We lack translators and experts in various fields of sciences and humanities to devote time and energy for writing or translating of books. Considering the development of Bahasa Malaysia and Malay education during these eighteen years (1956-74) one would be astonished to find that our national language has developed by leaps and bounds in that short period. And we look forward with optimism at the healthy trend of its development now.

As stated earlier, the healthy growth of Malay education and the Malay language have great impact in the development of Malay literature. It has to be defined here that Malay literature is considered the national literature because it is written in the national language (Ministry of Culture, 1973)<sup>1</sup>. Though Malay literature has a long and rich tradition, yet her modern tradition started only in the middle of the nineteenth century when Abdullah Munshi published his two famous memoirs *Hikayat Abdullah* (Story of Abdullah) and *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan dan Juddah* (The Tales of Abdullah's Voyage to Kelantan and Jeddah). The novel, as a modern genre, was introduced in 1925-26 when Syed Sheikh Ahmad Al-Hadi published his adapted work *Hikayat Faridah Hanum* (The Story of Faridah Hanum) which has an Egyptian background, and characters. But in 1927 a Malay novelist, Ahmad bin Haji Muhammad Rashid Talu, introduced local problems, characters and setting in his first novel *Kawan Benar* (A Real Friend). Later Ahmad Talu wrote a number of novels which were published in numerous volumes (Yahaya Ismail, 1972). Traditional literary techniques and modern ideas derived from Arabic influence could be discerned in the early novel-writing. Later, Indonesian literary influence replaced the Egyptian in the thirties and before the great war, when literature was dominated by Malay educated teachers. Modern Malay poetry came about in 1924. The short story was also introduced around the same period.

Before the War Malay literature took its own course of development

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<sup>1</sup>A Congress of Malay Culture was sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports from 16th-20th August 1971 in Kuala Lumpur in which participants contributed a number of interesting papers on various aspects of Malay culture. It was unanimously accepted that Malaysian literature in Bahasa Malaysia must be considered as the national literature. Malaysian literature writing in Chinese, English and Tamil are not considered as part of the national literature because the respective literatures are only known to particular communities only. All papers presented and the resolutions of the Congress were compiled by the Ministry of Culture and published in 1973.

without anchoring itself to any patronage like the court literature before the nineteenth century. In themes the works depicted a search for individualism in expression in which social problems like forced marriage, anti-traditional Malay customs, were exposed. There were much moralising and didacticism in fiction writing making the genre as a literary pulpit. One has to understand that the Malay writers were neither familiar with new literary forms nor had deep knowledge of modern literary concepts except to use the literary mediums for the expressions of their moral and social views irrespective of their literary values.

It was only after the war that Malay literature took a new bearing with the participation of numerous literary bodies that sprang up during the fifties. Literary audiences became greater than before the War and more publications were devoted to imaginative literature and literary criticism. The most important and the most influential of all literary bodies, at least in the fifties, is Angkatan Sastrawan '50 (Generation of Fifty Writers) which was established on August the 6th, 1950 in Singapore by a group of young journalists and Malay teachers (Syed Hussein Ali). Among the great stalwarts of Asas 50, by which the Generation was popularly known, were Keris Mas, Usman Awang, Awamil-Sarkam, Masuri S.N. and Asraf. Asas 50 upheld the concept of 'Literature for the society' which they expounded frequently in the monthly magazine, *Mastika*, and the weekly newspaper, *Utusan Zaman*, of which they were the editorial staff. Asas's writers declared that "language and literature should be used as a tool to bring about national unity, and its fight for independence; language and literature should also be used as a tool to bring about consciousness to the people's mind with the aims of achieving a just society, to bring prosperity and peace in life". It was in the field of poetry and short story writing that Asas 50 was widely known in the short span of its writers' activities of four years (1950-54) (Ismail Hussein 1959).<sup>1</sup> It was also in the fifties that literary criticism was introduced by the Asas's critic Asraf, who expounded in numerous articles, the concept of "literature for the society" as well as reviewing short stories and poems published in *Mastika* and *Utusan Zaman*. Asraf and Hamzah, a dissident of Asas 50,

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<sup>1</sup>According to the study made by Ismail Hussein for his 'Honours' thesis he considered that Asas's writers and poets were active in their writings only during those four 'glorious' years where we observed a great amount of short stories, poems and essays produced. But it does not mean that individual writers were no longer productive after 1954. The poets, Masuri S.N. and Usman Awang still write occasionally, and Wijaya Mala has produced a few novels after 1954. As an organisation *Angkatan Sastrawan 50* is still in existence in Singapore but has lost its influence over contemporary writers.

conducted a heated literary polemic on the function and evaluation of literature in various publications namely the *Utusan Zaman*, *Mastika* and *Hiburan*. The polemic centres on 'art for the society' of Asas 50 and 'art for art's sake' by Hamzah; both factions lacked a deep understanding of literature; yet it helped to create much interest in literary criticism.

Lack of knowledge of Bahasa Malaysia on the part of non-Malays resulted in Malaysian literature being dominated by Malay writers, thus inevitably making the themes, spirit and aspirations interwoven with Malay cultural values. Themes on poverty, clash of traditional and modern values, political and moral corruption were dominant in Malaysian works. For the Generation writers, the urban poverty and the moral decadence in the cosmopolitan city of Singapore were depicted in their works in which we found them championing the underdogs. Present day writers focus more attention on the plight of the peasantry where tales of suffering still obsess them. It is in the depth of their rural, peasant background that most Malay writers find their source of inspiration in which their personality and attitude towards life are blended with the traditional and Islamic background. Shahnnon Ahmad, S. Othman Kelantan, to name a few of our best writers, find themselves at home in that rural milieu that nurtured them to produce their best novels. Shahnnon is considered as the best novelist because of his *Rentong* (Burn to Ashes), *Ranjau Sepanjang Jalan* (No Harvest but a Thorn)<sup>1</sup> and *Srengenge* (The Sun).<sup>2</sup> S. Othman Kelantan is known for his novels *Angin Timur Laut* (The Moonsoon Wind) and *Perjudian* (Gambling). All these works have rural backgrounds typifying rural problems.

Most of these Malay writers and poets are Malay educated and the majority are with rural backgrounds. They obtain their knowledge of literature and literary techniques from reading Indonesian periodicals and Indonesian literary works.<sup>3</sup> In fact Indonesian influence could be

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<sup>1</sup>*Ranjau Sepanjang Jalan* by Shahnnon Ahmad was translated into English by Adibah Amin and published by Oxford University Press as *No Harvest but a Thorn*, (1972). This work has been widely acclaimed by foreign and local critics as the best work in Malaysian fiction writing to-day. Prof. A.H. Johns of Australian National University, Canberra, commenting on Shahnnon's work, said: "There is now in Shahnnon's work a growing competence in technique, social concern, an interest in characters who take on an autonomous life of their own apart from social message, and a capacity to show through the gesture of a story, a universal comment of human nature, a response to the human situation". (See 'Man in a Merciless World: The Work of Shahnnon Ahmad', *Sunday Mail* (April 30th, 1972).

<sup>2</sup>His latest novel published in 1973 which was judged as the best novel in 1973 by the Literary Panel last year.

<sup>3</sup>This is true of most writers during the fifties. See Usman Awang and A. Samad Said, *Tema dan Tugas Sastra Melayu Modern*, Federal Publication, 1963, pp.1-20.

traced back to the thirties but this influence is more felt in the fifties especially among Generation's writers. Though many of them are living in cities like Kuala Lumpur,<sup>1</sup> which has become the cultural and literary centre at present, yet we find them alienated from the current modern values. They find themselves lost among the skyscrapers and rat race of a cosmopolitan city thus withdrawing into their own traditional selves. To most of them the city is a symbol of sin where one is bound to be corrupted; a place where man has to fight for his survival or be crushed into oblivion. The Malay writers, looking from the negative point of view, reflect a sombre aspect of the urban life in their works since after the fifties.

Of course such a negative outlook cannot be maintained at all time. Socio-cultural and political situations in Malaysia to-day have helped to transform the attitudes of all ethnic groups making them face the new reality. The cultural gap among the races have to be bridged; inter-racial understanding has to be nurtured. Any right thinking Malaysian knows that it is madness to dwell in racial chauvinism and religious fanaticism which can split the delicate inter-racial fabrics asunder. In the course of a writer's adventure with ideas he is bound to encounter various disappointments and frustrations in adapting his attitudes to a fast changing socio-political reality. He has no choice except to be pragmatic. He has to fulfill the needs and demands of the nation, to cherish her philosophy but of course not to degrade the artistic values of his creation.

The government, on its part, has taken great interest to foster literary development among the writers. Tun Abdul Razak, the Prime Minister, had expressed the belief that "a writer should be the propagandist of his era, to depict the aspirations of the world and man of his period". (Tun Abdul Razak, 1966, p.7). As a follow up to his interest in literature Tun Razak set up two committees; one to advise him on the literary development and to give suggestions for improvement and aid; and the other consisting of a number of juries whose responsibility is to select the best literary works of a year. This panel of judges has been responsible for the selection of the best

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<sup>1</sup>Since the sixties Kuala Lumpur has replaced Singapore as the literary and cultural centre after leading Malay newspapers, *Utusan Melayu* and *Berita Harian* (a subsidiary of the Straits Times Press) moved to Kuala Lumpur. A number of leading writers from Asas 50 have migrated to Kuala Lumpur to seek employment in the newspapers and *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*. Also young aspiring writers from various parts of West Malaysia come to Kuala Lumpur to work as well as to be part of the 'literary colony' after Kuala Lumpur has become the capital city of Malaysia. A good sociological study of the Malay writers in the sixties was produced by Ismail Muhammad for his 'Honours' thesis, Malay Department, University of Malay, 1971, entitled, 'Sastrawan-Sastrawan Melayu Di Kuala Lumpur 1958-1969: Pembagian Sastrawan Kuala Lum'ur', and a fragment is published in *Dewan Bahasa*, June 1974.



works since 1971.<sup>1</sup> Before these two committees were established, the Federal government sponsored a novel writing competition in honour of the celebration of our tenth year of independence in 1967.<sup>2</sup> A big sum of money was given away as prizes to the successful works. In order to encourage Malaysian writers to publish good quality works the Malaysian government gives attractive monetary rewards for the best works chosen for a particular year. The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, on its part, also devotes a lot of money for literary activities through the writers' associations such as organising writers' workshop, seminars and the like.

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka also contributes meaningfully to the development and fostering of literary talents among Malaysian writers. On a number of occasions, DBP has sponsored various competitions in novel writing, short story writing, and play writing. It publishes three quality magazines - *Dewan Bahasa*, *Dewan Masyarakat* and *Dewan Sastra* - which are considered as the best monthly magazines in Malaysia to-day. Being aware of the great response towards creative works, DBP also organised a creative writing course recently where fifteen budding writers were selected to participate in the programme. The positive steps taken by the Federal government prompted some state governments to patronise literature and literary activities too. Some state governments have donated a few thousand dollars to the writers' associations in their respective states to help them carry on with their activities.

Private publishing houses have contributed a lot towards literary development too. Since before the War, private publishers have been indirectly promoting literature by publishing hundreds of novels as well as poetry, anthologies of short stories and drama. In the fifties, publishing houses in Singapore, like Geliga, MIBS, Qalam, etc., published a major amount of Malay works. Later in the sixties, publishers in Kuala Lumpur, Malacca and Kluang became more active in novel publishing. From 1965-67 an average of fifty novels were published per year, making that short period the 'golden' period of Malay novel publication.

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<sup>1</sup>The best short stories and poems which won the literary award for 1971 and 1972 were published in anthologies called *Dalam Perjalanan* (Journey) and *Suara Semasih* (Voices of a Period) by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka respectively.

<sup>2</sup>The successful novels that won the awards were *Sandera* (Hostage) by Arenawati, which won the third prize; *Meniti Buih* (Walking on the Foam) by Alias Harun; *Interlok* (Interlock) by Abdullah Hussein; *Pulanglah Perantau* (The Return of the Wanderer) by Aziz Jahpin and *Merpati Putih Terbang Jua* (The White Dove is Flying) by a woman writer Khadijah Hashim. The above mentioned novels won the consolation prizes only. There were no prizes given for the first and the second.

Malay weekly newspapers, like *Utusan Zaman*, *Berita Minggu* and monthly magazines, like *Mastika*, have been giving generous columns for short stories, poetry and reviews as well as literary essays since their inception. Because so much creative work and discussion on literature take place in magazine and newspaper columns, one tends to say that Modern Malaysian literature, like that of the Indonesian literature, is 'the literature of the newspapers and magazines'. I think this is true of most literatures of the developing countries where financial restraint make it impossible for small publishers to make profit out of imaginative works.

Literary infra-structure at present is conducive to serious pursuit in literature. There are more opportunities for young talented writers to get their works published than before. Literary audiences too are wider and more varied than before. Writers, university lecturers, poets, are often invited to give talks on literature to secondary school students who take literature papers for their examinations. Poetry readings are not only confined to a select few, but are often held in public places in order to attract bigger audiences as well as to involve a mass participation.

The fact that the government is patronising literature and other cultural activities denotes the important role of literature in society. This has never happened before. Literature can become an effective medium for social change, to bring new consciousness to the people as well as propagating intellectual taste. The tendency to use literature for social protest is very strong in our literature as expressed in numerous anthologies of protest poetry since 1967.<sup>1</sup> Being aware of the delicate fabric of cultural gap among the various ethnic groups, the writers have to steer away from sensitive issues that could spark off racial tensions. Themes for writing are limitless and it is up to the Malaysian writers to select them without incurring any strong racial undertones. As long as a writer realises the political and cultural realities and upholds the principles of Rukunegara<sup>2</sup> the State philosophy, then he has the liberty to express what he desires. I have to

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<sup>1</sup>The first anthology of protest poetry was called *Keranda 152* (Coffin 152) - the title symbolised death of the constitution - which reflected the opposition by the poets against the government's decision regarding the national language issue. When the leader of the peasantry, Hamid Tuah, was arrested by the government over his illegal cultivation of the State land another protest anthology was published called *Teluk Gong* (name of a village where illegal cultivation took place). I am strongly inclined to say that protest poetry in Malaysian literature is the result of the Indonesian protest poetry of *Generation '66* which the Malay writers and poets happened to read during that time.

<sup>2</sup>Rukunegara is the State philosophy which has five cardinal principles; i.e., Belief in God (Kepercayaan kepada Tuhan); Loyalty to King and Country (Kesetiaan kepada Raja dan Negara); Upholding the Constitution (Keluahoran Perlembagaan); Rule of Law (Kedaulatan Undang-Undang) and Good Behaviour and Morality (Kesopanan dan Kesusilaan).

stress here that these are not hard and fast rules as is the situation in the communist countries where writers have no right to criticise the government at all.

Looking at the trend of Malaysian literature to-day I am optimistic that more non-Malay writers and poets will emerge as writers in due course. At present there are a few non-Malay short story writers, poets, translators and novelists writing in the national language. A new generation of Malaysian youth who gain their education mainly through the medium of Bahasa Malaysia will finally generate much more varied literary works than what is seen to-day. With the participation of non-Malay writers writing in Bahasa Malaysia, there will be some rapport and mutual understanding among the people on matters relating to religions, cultures and traditions. Thus their participation will enrich our literature in various aspects besides demolishing some of the unfounded prejudices among the populace. Thus I believe Malaysian literature in the coming decade will be interesting to study.



## LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION AND NATIONALISM

Lars S. Vikör

### 1. HISTORICAL SURVEY: FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION

In a certain sense, language standardisation is a universal human feature. Although language is never a monolithic and rigid structure - there always are and will be deviations and variations - an informal standardisation through social intercourse is invariably at work; in fact, the existence of language itself would have been impossible without it. However, the term 'language standardisation' usually refers to something else: a formal process, consciously pursued with a deliberate goal. The immediate goal is the establishment of a fixed linguistic code, but the final goal is something else. The achieved standard language has to function and serve specific interests within a given society. The study of language standardisation, therefore, must be combined with the study of the historical and social setting in which it takes place.

Already in pre-literate societies, the establishment of a formally standardised variety of the spoken language (more or less different from ordinary speech) took place, the standard usually having a ritual or sacred character. This development eventually led to the sociolinguistic situation called diglossia (Ferguson 1959), characterised by the existence of a superimposed linguistic variety which is nobody's mother tongue, but which is used within some narrowly defined fields of social and cultural life, usually by an elite or a ruling class, and which is socially uninterchangeable with the ordinary popular language. In other instances, this superimposed variety was or became the mother tongue of those elites, thus their chief medium of expression in all situations and not only within some formalised areas of social life. In that case, I shall speak of a sociolectal cleavage. A sociolect in this terminology is a language variety which as a natu-

ral language is confined to a specific social group or class, while the term dialect is only used of a geographically defined variety.

The establishment and codification of the oldest written languages represented a further stage in this development. Writing originally was a medium accessible to a select group, and its use was restricted to the formal sphere (religious and administrative - in ancient societies usually two aspects of the same thing). As time drew on, extensive literatures developed in the Classical Chinese, Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic and other written languages, testifying of rich and varied cultures, but these written languages and the oral linguistic codes upon which they were based remained confined to a numerically tiny elite. Partly, their function was to safeguard the exclusiveness of the elites and their cultures. In some cases, writing was even seen as a rather marginal medium of linguistic expression, e.g. in the medieval Islamic culture. This can be seen from the fact that orally transmitted traditions (hadith) about the Prophet were regarded as more trustworthy than written sources. Writing was only a method of supporting memory; "it is even related that such written notations were deliberately destroyed as soon as its contents were properly memorized" (Juynboll 1930:11-12). "Written documents (-) are legally invalid as proofs, except when the contents of the documents are confirmed by trustworthy witnesses. But then the proof is not contained in the document, but in the declaration of the witness". (Juynboll 1930:318).

This sort of societies may be called **semi-literate**. More extensive literacy could before the invention of printing only be attained in small societies where relatively large sections of the population could take part in political activities and share a common culture on an egalitarian basis. The most prominent examples are Classical Greece and medieval Iceland. (For the social consequences of literacy, see Goody and Watt 1963).

A fundamental change in the prevailing situation occurred in the late Middle Ages and the following centuries. It was caused by the invention of printing and the development of nationalism. Until then, Europe had been characterized by diglossia and semi-literacy: it was a linguistic patchwork of oral dialects more or less related to each other with a somewhat revised variety of Classical Latin as a common cultural language, accessible, however, only to the Catholic clergy which represented the only centralised power. The establishment of national states must be accompanied by a break in the power of the church. In North-Western Europe, this break was made complete with the Reformation, while farther south it was only partial. But in all

these states, the need for a separate language was felt. So, the most prestigious variety of the language spoken within each state was raised to the status of 'national language' and gradually, but deliberately, codified in a written and a spoken version. The usual bases of these national standard languages were the spoken languages of the upper classes of the respective capitals. But their function was different from that of the older, classical languages, in any case in theory. While literacy earlier had been an instrument for promoting the exclusiveness of an elite, now it gradually was transformed into a means of national integration and spreading of the religious, cultural and ideological principles upon which the states were built. One of the most important aims was to create an identification with the national state among larger sections of the people.

The technological innovation of printing made the standard language in its written form a reality in the lives of common people to an extent which was till then unknown. The spread of education worked in the same direction. However, the situation was less radically changed than it might seem. The command of the standard languages was still largely defined to the ruling classes; the role of common people was usually that of recipients of messages from above. The standard languages thus remained upper class sociolects, while the rest of the people still had the various local dialects as their natural media of expression. The usual way of regarding these dialects, however, was to dismiss them as deviations and vulgarisations of 'the language' - i.e. the standard language. The speakers of the dialects had no means to counter the propagation of this view, which was an integral part of nationalist ideology, and so they had to adopt it themselves. The fact that the dialects were autonomous varieties of the national language, having directly developed from a common source along with the standard language (and not from it) was not recognised before the rise of comparative linguistics and dialectology in the nineteenth century, and this had no consequences whatsoever for the social relations between standard languages and popular dialects, except in the case of Norway, to which we shall return presently.

The industrial revolution and the rise of modern technology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought about a new profound change in the state of things. The established standard languages (English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian and others) were not changed by it except in their vocabulary, as they were already fixed. But their function in a type of society based on mass production and mass communication had to be redefined. They could not remain upper class sociolects any more, if they should serve their ends properly. A lin-

guistic standardisation of the whole society would be desirable if language should not turn into an obstructing factor in the technological development. Consequently, the pressure on the spoken dialects became stronger and more efficient than ever before. The same pressure has been felt by minority languages which are clearly different from the dominant language (Lappish in Norway, Frisian in Holland, Welsh and Gaelic in Great Britain and others). Particularly after World War Two, it has become more or less of a dogma that the spoken dialects of language communities like the English, French, Danish and Swedish were doomed to disappear as a result of the technological development in education, mass mediae (broadcasting, press, mass produced literature and colour magazines, etc.) and the like.

Modern language planning ideas have to a large extent been marked by this situation. Among the most important aims of language standardisation today is to promote efficiency and rationality in the communication process as much as possible. For a very consistent pledge on behalf of this view, I refer to Tauli (1974). He gives a viewpoint on the language planning problematics which must be called thoroughly technocratic: in his view, language standardisation and planning is a purely technical process where the principle of efficiency and rationality must play a fundamental part, while other considerations are dismissed as extralinguistic and irrational. I shall not discuss his views in detail here; the rest of this paper, however, will show that the present writer approaches these questions from a rather different angle.

In practise, the more technocratically oriented language planners are far from their aims. One reason for this is the conservatism of the traditional language standards; the orthographies of English and French are sufficient examples for this. Another reason is that the strength of the popular dialects has been underestimated; one thing is that they meet a very essential need on the part of those who have grown up with them, viz. the need for a means of identification with the immediate social environment in which one lives; another thing is that the linguistic barriers between the different social classes have not diminished, as could be expected. The political democratisation of Western Europe and North America has not been followed by a social, economic, cultural and linguistic democratisation. The cultivated standard language of mass mediae and educational institutions still functions as a means of preserving the exclusiveness of an elite, due to an elaborate syntax and vocabulary which is developed and cultivated by this elite and therefore tends to express its view on society and ideological framework. For a discussion of this state of things with



reference to English-speaking societies, I refer to Bernstein (1970) and especially to Labov (1969).

## 2. AN ALTERNATIVE SITUATION: THE CASE OF NORWAY

The repressive sociolinguistic situation of the great Western language communities is usually accepted as unavoidable. The language ideology created by nationalism, that the standard language by definition is to be viewed as the language of the nation and all other varieties as vulgar deviations, has been so successfully implemented that an alternative situation has not only been impossible in practice, but to a large extent even unimaginable. If these standard languages were challenged at all, it was exclusively from the side of ethnic minorities with a definite linguistic identity of their own. In many cases, particularly within the multi-ethnic empires of Eastern Europe (The Habsburg Empire, the Ottoman Empire and Imperial Russia), the linguistic uprisings were part of national uprisings eventually leading to the establishment of new independent states (Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece). In all these cases, the idea of language as a unified medium of expression for a particular nation was an active force behind the liberation process.

Only in two cases, the latent linguistic dichotomy between different social classes within a single language community broke out into open conflict. I refer to Greece and Norway. In Greece, the establishment of a modern independent nation with its own cultural identity led to the creation of two distinct written idioms based on different sociolects. Katharevousa is a codification with a strongly archaic character based on upper class speech, while dhimotiki is a standardisation of modern popular speech. In part, these two standards co-exist in a sort of diglossia, each of them having a specific function in social and cultural life, but they have also been competing with each other about a general supremacy. The social and political character of this struggle may be discerned from the fact that the military junta that ruled Greece from 1967 till 1974 actively promoted katharevousa and suppressed dhimotiki.

The Norwegian case shall be dealt with in some more detail here, as it is a unique combination of these two types of language conflict: the emerging national state striving for a linguistic identity of its own, and the monolingual society where different social groups strive for a linguistic and cultural hegemony.

Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway and Sweden) has from ancient times been a single language area. There has developed a multitude of dialects, but no internal linguistic boundaries of a fundamental nature.

From the sixteenth century onwards, this area was divided into two national states, viz. Denmark (including Norway within its realm) and Sweden. Consequently the normal process of standardisation took place with the upper class sociolects of Copenhagen and Stockholm as the bases of the new standard languages. The national boundaries between Denmark/Norway and Sweden became (artificial) linguistic boundaries, even more so because the political relations between the two states were rather cool, marked by an endless series of border wars. The implementation of the standard languages as the only acceptable medium of communication on a formal level also took place in the same way as the rest of Western Europe.

In 1814, however, Norway was handed over to Sweden as a result of a truce in the Napoleonic wars, and in the following years a Norwegian nationalism (having manifested itself even earlier) began to grow with an accelerating speed. It sought its inspiration partly in the Middle Ages, when Norway had been an independent kingdom with its own written language which had been very extensively used and cultivated. This written language, Old Norse, had been replaced by Danish in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but most Norwegians spoke dialects descended from Old Norse and very different from the Danish standard language in character. The foreign character of this standard language was felt as a problem by the nineteenth century nationalists. Several answers were given to this problem, but only two of them were important. One was to adjust the Danish standard language to the speech of the urban Norwegian upper class, which spoke a sociolect based on the written standard, but with a distinct Norwegian pronunciation and many Norwegian expressions. The other possibility was to create a new standard language on the basis of the popular dialects (in my terminology called Norse to distinguish them from the Dano-Norwegian spoken and written standard (cf. Vikör 1975). This was done around the middle of the century by the self-educated linguist Ivar Aasen. After a thorough investigation of the rural dialects in most parts of the country, he reached the conclusion that, in spite of their diversity, they possessed certain fundamental structural traits in common that separated them from the Danish and Swedish written standards. Already before entering upon his comparative investigation of the dialects, he outlined a proposal for the codification of a Norse written standard like this:

It is not my intention hereby to bring forward any single dialect. No, none of them should be the standard language, but it should be a comparison, a basis of all of them. To complete such a work, there should be collected words from all the greater provinces of the country, with grammatical

information and certain explanations of the words. To produce these, one should encourage men who not only believe that they know the language of the people, but who also really do know it. These word collections should be sent to a society, founded by linguistically schooled men, who should make comparisons and make a selection, and after having thus defined the standard language, this society should produce a complete Norse dictionary and grammar.

(Quoted after Hanssen 1969)

This plan was consistently carried out, not by any linguistic society, but by Aasen personally, and the result was the written language known as nynorsk (New Norwegian or, in my terminology, New Norse). Its initial success as a cultural and literary medium coincided with the political struggle for home rule and subsequently national independence from the Swedish monarchy. But this struggle intertwined with an internal Norwegian social conflict: The rural (agricultural) population strove to obtain its democratic right to participate fully in the political life of the country, against a powerful class of bureaucrats inherited from Danish colonial rule. The New Norse standard language thus had a double function: it was an expression of Norwegian linguistic nationality, and it was a means of developing a new cultural and social self-esteem among the rural population upon whose dialects it was built, and an efficient stimulator of cultural and literary activities in the countryside. In 1905, the union with Sweden was dissolved, and the nationalist appeal gradually lost weight. The new Norse language and its movement by then had penetrated the rural districts of Western Norway thoroughly, and these areas still remain its most secure footholds. In the rest of the country, it has till the present day failed to gain ground.

Two new approaches to the language problem appeared in the twentieth century. One of them was expressed in a movement on behalf of the dialects of South-Eastern Norway, which was active in the years after World War One. This part of the country was and is most thoroughly dominated by the Dano-Norwegian standard, and the aim of this movement was to raise the prestige of these dialects and their users as a part in a social democratisation process, as the New Norse movement had done in Western Norway. The New Norse standard itself was by these people accused of being too closely based on Western Norwegian dialects, and therefore unsuitable for common people in Eastern Norway.

The second approach was the idea of fusing the existing standard into one so-called Common Norwegian written language. The linguistic proximity between Dano-Norwegian and New Norse was and is sufficiently high to make this possible. The fusion was to be based on the South-Eastern Norwegian dialects, which linguistically were to be placed

between the two competing standards, as they had the essential Norse structural features in common with New Norse, but in many details, particularly in the vocabulary, were strongly influenced by Dano-Norwegian. This policy was adopted by the state, and through three successive spelling reforms it was implemented under governmental supervision.

However, this policy was met with considerable resistance from the supporters of conservative (=Danish-like) Dano-Norwegian, which were mostly to be found in the urban bourgeoisie, and through an intense campaign in the 1950s they were able to stop the development towards fusion and even to reverse it to a certain extent. The reason must be sought in the economic structure of the country: the adherents of conservative Dano-Norwegian were to a large extent in control of economic development and, most important, of the big publicity mediae (press, publishing houses and so on), while the New Norse movement and the advocates of a Common Norwegian were financially weak and ideologically unprepared to defend their positions. Recently, however, a counter-offensive against Dano-Norwegian dominance has been initiated.

In the context of this paper, a sketch of the sociolinguistic structure of the Norwegian language community might be of interest, as it presents a picture rather different from that of the other Western European countries. We must then divide the country into three major areas.

1. The rural districts of Western and Central Norway. Here, the local dialects are the universal medium of expression as far as speech is concerned, while New Norse is almost equally universally used in writing. Also the instruction in the schools is given according to this pattern (local dialects spoken, New Norse written) - or, if the teachers come from elsewhere, the children are still free to use their dialects. The linguistic and cultural self-reliance among the population in these areas is high.

2. Northern Norway, parts of rural Eastern Norway and the South Coast. Here, Dano-Norwegian is the dominant standard language used in writing and partly in formal speech, while the local dialects are mostly used elsewhere. The schools are generally dominated by dialectal speech and Dano-Norwegian writing. The dialects are held in high esteem as a means of communication within the local sphere and identification with the local communities, while Dano-Norwegian is generally accepted for formal and nation-wide communication. The dichotomy between adherents of New Norse and Dano-Norwegian is often openly expressed in these areas.

3. South-Eastern Norway, where the relations between standard lan-

guage (exclusively Dano-Norwegian) and spoken dialects are very much like those of other Western European nation, i.e. the total acceptance of the standard language as the only legitimate medium of communication beyond the strictly intimate level. Also the schools in this area are marked by this view, contrary to the law which has been codified under the influence of the more democratic view of the New Norse movement and prescribes that instruction be based on the use of the local dialects.

This situation is not universally accepted. The social position of the popular dialects is one of the major issues in the Norwegian language conflict, besides the dichotomy New Norse vs. Dano-Norwegian. The language situation which the dialect promoters aim at, will be characterised by a linguistic decentralisation, based on the fundamental respect of the linguistic integrity of every individual. The standardisation of language, in this view, must be based on such a situation; in concrete, the standard language should be firmly rooted in popular speech, and allow for regional variations as far as it is possible without losing its character of a coherent structure. It must serve primarily as a written language (as writing necessarily must be more standardised than speech) and as a means of interdialectal communication when the pure dialects are not mutually intelligible (which, however, extremely rarely happens).

The question of mutual intelligibility in Norway and Scandinavia generally is an interesting one. Linguistically, the different varieties of Scandinavian are close enough to each other as to make such mutual intelligibility possible. But the establishment of the national standard languages in Sweden and Denmark has tended to isolate the inhabitants within these countries from each other, and today, this isolation is more complete than ever. For example books are usually not read in Swedish by Danes and vice versa, but translated, and even more important for common people: films and TV programmes with Danish speech is subtitled in Sweden and vice versa. However, in Norway this happens to a much lesser degree, and Norwegians generally tend to understand Danish and Swedish better than Danes and Swedes understand each other - just as interdialectal communication is very common in Norway, but relatively rare in Denmark and Sweden where the respective standard languages are resorted to. This should indicate that communication is not only a question of linguistic proximity, but also to a large extent of habit (Norwegians are generally from childhood accustomed to hear and understand different varieties of their language along with the neighbouring standard language, while this is to a much smaller extent the case with regard to the Swedes and the Danes)

- and sociopsychological considerations (you sometimes can hear well-bred Norwegians thoroughly despising New Norse and popular dialects claiming that they do not understand these language varieties - while others with the same social and linguistic background, but without prejudices, have not any difficulties at all in this respect).

One last point in connection with the Norwegian 'dialect movement'. Contrary to what one perhaps would believe, the strong position of local dialects does not reflect a spirit of particularism. In fact, the consistent use of a particular local dialect with a Norse character strengthens the identification with the Norse language in general, of which any dialect is regarded a worthy representative, against the Dano-Norwegian standard language, which is originally foreign, tied to an urban upper class and associated with economic and cultural centralisation in the urban areas. The diversity of the dialects is seen to essentially represent the basic unity of the Norse language.

The conclusion which one might draw from the Norwegian case, would be that a rigidly fixed standardisation of language is not necessarily the best possible way of achieving national unity in the linguistic and cultural area. Another possible conclusion would be that standardisation is not first and foremost a technical question, but it is to a large extent a question about which social groups or classes have the power to carry out this standardisation and implement its results on society. For detailed descriptions of the Norwegian language situation, I refer to Haugen (1966a), which concentrates particularly on the problematics of language planning and standardisation, and Vikör (1975), which is a description of the New Norse movement and its ideology on a historical and social background.

### 3. THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

The language problems of the African and Asian states that have acquired independence after World War Two are partly similar to those encountered by the Western European nations two to four centuries ago, but partly they are widely different as a consequence of the specific historical situation in our time. This situation is characterised by the existence of a technologically advanced and economically powerful bloc of Western European and Northern American states that also linguistically dominate the world through the English and partly the French languages. Another factor is the multi-ethnicity and multi-lingualism of many states that have wrestled themselves free from colonial rule. Both these factors impede the acquisition of an independent linguistic national identity. As we know, different responses have been given to this problem.

One possibility is to adopt the former colonial language (mainly English or French) as the new national language. By this, one avoids stimulating internal ethnic rivalries (as far as language is concerned), and the technical problem of standardisation is solved, as these languages are already firmly standardised. However, it is still a question whether such a policy does not in fact create more problems than it solves. One thing is that the official standard language in such cases is usually the mother tongue of virtually nobody, or at most a numerically very tiny elite. Its function then would be to perpetuate a deep social cleavage inherited from colonial rule instead of the regional cleavage which was to be avoided. Another thing is that the dependence of the former colonial power (economically and culturally) would rather be strengthened than weakened.

The establishment of separate national standards is easier where traditional written and spoken standards are already in existence, as is the case in most Asian countries. However, even this situation creates its specific problems which should be (and are, of course) taken into account. The great advantage of such traditional standard languages which have functioned as vehicles of great civilisations, is their strong unifying force and nationalist appeal.

The cases of Arabic and Chinese are good examples of this type of situation. Classical Arabic was standardised through the writing down of the Koran in the seventh century and the subsequent vocalisation by the grammarians of Lower Iraq a century later (Beeston, 1970), and this standard is still valid. But already at the time it was standardised, the ordinary spoken dialects had grown apart from it, and this cleavage has grown and become unsurmountable. Today, the Arab world has been frequently mentioned as a prime example of diglossia. While Classical Arabic provides a definite and respectable cultural identity to the Arab world, and also is one of the strongest unifying forces between the different Arab states, it also forms a strong barrier for the common Arabs on their way to full literacy. (Altoma 1970). The chief linguistic problem in the Arab world, therefore, is: how to break down this barrier without endangering the linguistic unity of the Arab world? As yet, this question is unsolved. Among the solutions proposed are the implementation of a more or less modified Classical Arabic through a more efficient educational system (which, in view of the linguistically much more homogenous situation in Western societies where such a policy has nevertheless been a failure, does not seem realistic), and the development of national standard languages based on the so-called colloquials of the capitals. Another possibility is the development of a Common Arabic standard based on common traits in the



regional dialects (so-called koineization, cf. Ferguson 1970:116-117 and Blanc 1960). In the People's Republic of China, the problem has been solved by developing a standard language based on the Peking dialect of Northern Chinese, a language that comprises some 70% of the population, and simplifying the script. In none of these cases, there existed a rival standard language with its own cultural, literary and political tradition within the territory covered by the language, as was the case in India.

Still another situation develops when an unstandardised lingua franca was established as standard language of a new nation. This was done with a remarkable success in Tanzania, and creolised languages like Papiamentu in the Dutch Antilles and Melanesian Pidgin English in Papua New Guinea seem to be gradually adapted to a similar task (Hall Jr 1972).

#### 4. THE STANDARDISATION OF BAHASA INDONESIA - PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

The development of Bahasa Indonesia is sometimes taken as another instance of the last category of standardisation processes mentioned above, as it is seen as a codification of the so-called Bazaar Malay (Hall Jr 1972:151, Kahin 1970:39, 97n). However, this view contains only a part of the truth, and in my opinion not the most essential part. It is more fruitfully viewed as a standard language based on two very distinct sociolects, viz. the Classical Malay literary standard and Bazaar Malay, and heavily influenced from several other sources. This double origin makes it rather unique among modern national languages, and most of what remains of this paper shall be used to examine its development and standardisation more closely on the background of the general perspective outlined in the foregoing sections.

Einar Haugen has described language standardisation as a process consisting of four stages, viz. selection of a norm, codification, elaboration and acceptance by the society (Haugen 1966a:16-26; see also Fishman 1973). I shall base the following discussion on this scheme.

##### 4.1. SELECTION OF A NORM

Indonesia is a multi-lingual society, and in theory, there were tens or even hundreds of alternatives for the choice of a national language. In practice, of course, the choice was much more restricted, as there were only three real candidates for the position of vehicle for the nationalist movement, viz. Dutch, Malay and Javanese. Dutch could immediately be rejected, as it was not only the language of the colonial power, but it even missed the advantage of a wide circulation on a



global scale. Even the choice between the Indonesian languages Malay and Javanese was remarkably quickly and unanimously decided in favour of Malay. Oddly enough, the strongest pledge for the selection of Javanese came from the Dutch Indonesianist C.C. Berg and was rejected by the Javanese themselves (cf. Takdir 1962:1).

The reason for this was clear: Malay was already widely accepted as an inter-insular medium of communication, and could thus voice the idea of national unification much better than Javanese, which was largely confined to its own native area. Besides, the so-called 'ceremonial styles' of Javanese makes this language very difficult to access for non-Javanese.

However, the problem was by this only half-solved. There existed numerous kinds of Malay, most properly to be classified in three categories, viz. Classical Malay, Bahasa Melayu Pasar ('Bazaar Malay' - developed as a 'pidginised' or 'creolised' lingua franca throughout the archipelago) and the Malay dialects of the Malayan peninsula and Sumatra. Of these, Classical Malay naturally had the highest prestige as the medium of a traditional literary culture, developed at the courts of Malakka and Johore-Riau. The colonial masters, as far as they cared about indigenous languages, supported this evaluation. The English Malacicus C.C. Brown, on publishing texts in three Malay dialects, comments upon them like this:

They both (The Malay of Kelantan and Trengganu - LSV) differ more widely from "standard Malay" than does any other Malay that I know, and the differences are not always to their credit. --- they do not come as well as Perak Malay out of a test by Sejarah Melayu standards --- But against these defects should be set the purity of the language.

(Brown 1956:124)

However, the rigidly fixed standard of the Sejarah Melayu and the other works of Classical Malay literature was not to be maintained any more, as it had lost its contact with the actually spoken language. In the nineteenth century, more loosely standardised versions of it were used by the Chinese-Indonesian press, the Christian mission and the Dutch colonial administration. In the beginning of the twentieth century, an official standard was worked out by the Dutch scholar C.A. van Ophuysen, and this standard was subsequently adopted by the Indonesian nationalists and became the foundation of the further development of the Bahasa Indonesia.

#### 4.2. CODIFICATION OF NORM

The formal codification of a written language relates to such areas as spelling, pronunciation rules and morphology. The spelling of a

language is a seemingly strictly technical issue once the norms of pronunciation on which this spelling is to be based are established. However, the history of the Indonesian spelling clearly shows that there are ideological implications present in the standardisation process even at this level. As already stated, the Indonesian standard language was codified by van Ophuysen at the turn of the century. He based the spelling on Dutch rules, including such digraphs as *dj*, *tj* and *oe* (for *u*) - especially the last of these being completely irrational from a technical point of view, as it made superfluous the very common letter *u* (except in the diphthong *au*, where it is employed also in Dutch). During the independence war, the Indonesian nationalists abolished the *oe* and began to spell *u* consistently. Linguistically, they had all good reasons for doing so, but it is obvious that in the prevailing situation this change of a single spelling feature was symbolically associated with the struggle for independence from Dutch colonial rule. From about 1960, the preparations began for a co-ordination of the spelling systems of Indonesia and Malaysia, based on Dutch and English spelling conventions, respectively. The main features of this reform were clear already then: The English *j* (*dj* in Indonesian, *j* in Malay), *ch* (*tj* in Indonesian, *ch* in Malay), and *y* in *yet* (spelt *j* in Indonesian, *y* in Malay) were to be spelt *j*, *c*, and *y* respectively. However, during the years of confrontation this reform could not be implemented due to the hostility between the two countries. Only after the political rapprochement could this be done, and it is still in some quarters symbolically associated with this political rapprochement and accepted or rejected according to the opinion one holds about the political relations between the countries. This in spite of the fact that the new spelling is a technical improvement of both the previous spelling systems, and that it probably has very little influence on the linguistic relations between the two forms of the language, generally.

If we consider the formal (phonological and morphological) structure of modern Malay and Bahasa Indonesia, we find that it is largely inherited from Classical Malay. A look at some modern Malay dialects (cf. Brown 1956) brings rather substantial differences to the light, e.g. with regard to the pronunciation of final consonants. The morphology of Malay/Bahasa Indonesia is, as is well-known, rather simple, and its basic rules are derived from the Classical Malay standard. An example which shows this rather clearly, is the fixation of the so-called prenasalisation rules. The prefixes *me-* and *pe-* are accompanied by a nasal consonant which is dependent on the initial consonant (or vowel) of the root morpheme, according to a fixed set of rules. How-

ever, Winstedt (1927:75) states: "These rules are fixed only in literary or Riau-Johore Malay, and even there with some few variants and exceptions." This makes Teeuw (1959) assume that the standardisation of these prenasalisation rules in itself is an exception, an artificial creation without any foundation in living speech.

After World War Two, the fixed morphological (and to a certain extent even phonological) pattern of Bahasa Indonesia is influenced by the Javanese mother tongue of many of its users. Thus, one can meet prenasalized verbal forms without *me-*, which are the regular forms in Javanese and Sundanese, but alien to Malay. Such forms usually have a colloquial Jakartan tinge, and in my impression, such and other morphological Javanisms can (as yet) not be said to be incorporated into the structure of Bahasa Indonesia.

#### 4.3. ELABORATION OF FUNCTION

If the formal aspect of Bahasa Indonesia is largely inherited from Classical Malay, its functional aspect is much more determined by other sources. Classical Malay vocabulary and syntax were to a large extent adapted to its role as a vehicle of a rigidly traditional Islamic culture in a feudal society. Thus it was heavily influenced by the Classical Arabic written standard. Bahasa Indonesia is marked by a freer style, the result of a conscious liberation of expression modes from the iron girdle of Classical Malay stylistic norms. Especially in less formal contexts, stylistic and idiomatic influence from popular speech (especially in Jakarta) is allowed to make itself felt.

Strong influence upon the expression moods of Bahasa Indonesia is also exerted by the standard languages of Western Europe, formerly particularly Dutch, at present particularly English. This influence has affected even vital parts of the syntactic and semantic structure. One example of this concerns plurality. Traditional Malay had no plural forms of nouns, but it had a morphological category denoting indefiniteness and variety and characterised by reduplication (cf. Winstedt 1927:102). In present-day Bahasa Indonesia, however, this reduplication is often used simply as a plural form. Takdir (1962:11 and 1971:413) mentions other examples: Traditional Malay had so-called 'auxiliary numerals' (a category met with also in other Eastern languages even of a completely different type, such as Chinese). These words function as 'individualisers' of nouns when these are counted, the underlying idea being that nouns stand for concepts, not for the individual realisations of these concepts. In other words: *telur* means *egg*, that is the concept egg. If you have three eggs, you must 'individualise them' by using the word '*buah*' (actually '*fruit*', but

in such cases to be translated as '*piece of*'): tiga buah telur = *three pieces of egg*. However, *three eggs* (tiga telur) is the usual expression nowadays, due to the, in this case, simplifying influence of European languages.

More debatable is the syntactic influence. Teeuw (1955) notes that "the sentences in Bahasa Indonesia are generally much longer and more complex than in Classical Malay, where parataxis is the rule, and hypotaxis a (sometimes highly occasional) exception." (p.12). Takdir (1962, 1971) illustrates the nominalisation of Indonesian syntax with the following example: "The content of the sentence: '*If you want to regain your health, take medicine*', (Kalau kamu mau sehat, minumlah obat) is today very often paraphrased as: '*For your healthiness sake, take medicine*' (Untuk kesehatanmu, minumlah obat)." However, in such cases, it would be worthwhile to investigate the nature of the changes more closely, and above all how they are put out in practice (by whom and in what circumstances) before being too rash in concluding that there is a "general trend towards abstraction". (Takdir, 1962, 1971).

Syntax is usually not subjected to deliberate standardisation, but that does not mean that it develops freely on its own, any more than any other part of language. One of the most formative forces behind the moulding and fixation of syntax is what I would call the 'industry of words', including publishing houses, press and above all (in the semi-literate society that Indonesia still is) broadcasting. But it is a question of which we know as yet very little, whether the prestigious and elaborated modes of expression utilised by these institutions do in fact influence the speech of those who have no direct contact with these formative mediae, i.e. the great majority of the Indonesian population.

The most important area of Indonesian language planning and standardisation is undoubtedly vocabulary. Excellent descriptions of the problems arising in the development of a modern terminology have been given by Takdir (1962, 1971), who has been actively engaged in this process since the 1930s. In the following discussion, I shall try to examine some ideological aspects of it, from an angle different from that of Takdir.

The main difference of opinion with regard to the modernisation of Indonesian vocabulary, as sketched by Takdir, relates itself to the attitude towards European influence. One faction is puristic, wanting to base the elaboration of the vocabulary on linguistic resources already present in Malay and other Indonesian languages, and resort to other Asian languages (predominantly Sanskrit, but also Arabic) when the Indonesian languages prove insufficient. Takdir (1962:7) notes:

"In general we can say that for a great number of Indonesians Sanskrit words still have a certain emotional force (because the zenith of Indonesia as a political power is regarded as coinciding with the Hindu period of Indonesian history) which enhances self-confidence and national pride.--- The fact that 90 per cent of the population of Indonesia is Moslem has helped facilitate the introduction of additional Arabic words."

The other faction, to which Takdir himself belongs, consciously identifies itself with modern Western culture as opposed to past glory connected to stagnated cultures, and consequently is in favour of admitting European loanwords of Greek and Latin origin (or constructed from Greek and Latin elements). In this way, this factions want to open Indonesia to the influences of Western technological culture which is needed to bring her forwards, as they see it. Takdir outlines the basic principles behind this view in his 1962 essay, p.14-15. Modern man and modern culture, as he calls it, is characterised by the following features: activity, rationality, abstractness, business acumen, egalitarianism and internationalism. He wants a conscious language policy to promote these principles, and relates some of the changes of Indonesian language usage to them. Thus, the already mentioned decrease in the use of auxiliary numerals and the nominalisation tendency is related to the principle of abstractness, while the principle of activity is discerned in the increased use of the verbal prefix me- ('active' or 'agens-centered') instead of di- ('passive' or 'patiens-centered') which according to Takdir is taking place.

The belief that Western technology possessed the right means to develop the Third World, which was so widely held in the sixties, is no more unchallenged. The most frequent criticism against it is that it tends to benefit only those social groups in the developing countries that beforehand are best equipped to use this technology, in practise numerically limited and materially well-to-do groups. A similar criticism can also be levied against the language philosophy of Takdir. He strongly stresses the necessity of an international integration in the field of science, which must be promoted by an internationally standardised scientific terminology. However, such an internationalisation of terminology can result in a linguistic segregation (or strengthen the already existing segregation) within Indonesia itself. The crucial question in this connection, as I see it, is: will the adoption of a strongly Westernised vocabulary make Bahasa Indonesia more or less accessible to that large majority of Indonesians that do not receive education above the elementary level?

I am here not dealing with the language (jargons) of specialists, but of the vehicle of national linguistic unification in Indonesia. About the half of the Indonesian people is illiterate, and the majority of the other half receives only basic education. Their chief communication channel with the 'outer world' is the radio, and for those who can read, papers and popular magazines (and textbooks) are added. The language used in these mediae most properly deserves the designation 'national language'. It is most important, then, that this language is so designed that it serves the needs of the majority of the population, and not primarily of those who are in the position to acquaint themselves most thoroughly with Western languages, culture and technology. The argument levied by Takdir (1962:17) that the adoption of Greek and Latin terms would make it "much easier for the Indonesians to learn other modern languages and especially to read modern scientific words in other languages", must in my opinion be regarded as highly peripheral. Without dogmatically rejecting any source of enrichment of the language, I would basically hold the opinion that the development of any standard language should be based on popular speech, and that the necessary extension of the vocabulary should primarily be undertaken by employing indigenous material as much as possible, and use foreign sources (Asian and European) as supplements.

Even so, the situation is more complicated than this. The vocabulary of every language reflects the social context in which the language is employed, and in its turn influences social conditions, mostly strengthening the prevailing situation. Every child learns the basic social relations in which he/she is a part through language, and those relations which are simply expressed in the most fundamental vocabulary tend to have a profound influence upon the personality of the individual and tie him/her forcibly to the social structure of which he/she is a part. The personal pronouns of many languages and the rules guiding their usage offer numerous examples of this. Most European languages distinguish pronouns of 'power and solidarity' in the second person (cf. Brown and Gilman 1960). This is the case also in Indonesian, but here there is no simple dichotomy of two forms as in the European languages, but a rather elaborated (and fluctuating) system of addressing terms expressing the relationship to the person addressed. In a society with new democratic ideals and an increased social mobility, such a system cannot be kept intact. The experiment of introducing a neutral pronoun for the second person, *anda*, in the 1950s, at first did not meet with much success, however. It broke too sharply with the complex pattern of social relationships expressed in the existing system. However, I have the impression that it is slowly gaining ground at present,

and with Takdir (1971:413) I believe that it will eventually be accepted. But I do not think that will happen without a profound change in the social relationships in an egalitarian direction.

A fundamental concept in the language philosophy of Takdir and many others is 'modernisation'. The foregoing passages will already have indicated that the present writer is rather skeptical towards this term, in any case the way Takdir uses it. In my opinion, the terms modernisation and traditionalism tend to obscure the more fundamental dichotomies underlying the social and cultural conflicts in countries like Indonesia. Such conflicts inevitably, of course, involve the use of language, but just as inevitably they involve a struggle for linguistic power. A social group which acquires the power to define which linguistic usage is acceptable and not acceptable, and to introduce and impose a terminology which is adapted to its view of life and society, by this acquires a mighty instrument through which it can exert cultural, social and political dominance. Groups who want to overthrow the existing social order, correspondingly, have to develop a vocabulary with a semantic structure that reflects their position. One of the few who have treated Indonesian linguistic problems from this angle is Leclerc (1972).

#### 4.4. ACCEPTANCE BY THE SOCIETY

The term 'acceptance by the society' can mean several things. It can imply that the members of a society actively accepts and employs a given language standard, identifying themselves with it and contributing to its further development. It can imply that they actively supports and identify themselves with the standard language because of some nationalist or religious symbolic value without being able to participate in it, because it is too far removed from their actual speech, too elaborate in structure or because of lack of education (or all these factors together, cf. the position of Classical Arabic among common people in the Arabic countries). And thirdly, maybe it means that they simply accept its existence because of the lack of an alternative, or because they lack linguistic and cultural self-consciousness, without identifying themselves with it. In short, everything except absolute rejection can be called 'acceptance'.

Bahasa Indonesia is universally accepted as the national language of Indonesia, but it still awaits investigation what kind of acceptance this in reality is. In any case, it is very improbable that it is the first of the three degrees of acceptance that I have mentioned, as most Indonesians do not have Bahasa Indonesia as their mother tongue and are

insufficiently educated in it (if at all). The active participation in the use of Bahasa Indonesia and its development is restricted to a well-educated elite. Tanner (1967) has described the complex socio-linguistic relationship between Bahasa Indonesia and, on the one hand, the *bahasa daerah* (regional languages) and, on the other hand, the foreign languages English and Dutch among this elite. He stresses that Bahasa Indonesia carries the great advantage of being neutral to ethnic cleavage (not being associated with any particular region or ethnic group) and also to social differences (not including the complex 'ceremonial styles' of Javanese and Sundanese).

Outside this elite, we probably can find varying degrees of acceptance, partly of Bahasa Indonesia as the language of national unity and national pride, partly as the inevitable language of power. While passive and to a certain extent active knowledge of this language is spread throughout the archipelago, there probably is no question of real participation in its development (as this is codified in the official standardisation) from those masses who have no access to the centres of power. Under the present circumstances, this even seems hardly possible. In such a situation, the standardisation and planning of language can hardly avoid degenerating into a bureaucratic process, which is conducted without contact with the people for whose benefit the standard language should ideally be developed.

In his analysis of Guided Democracy, Herbert Feith (1963) stresses the dichotomy between ideologists or 'solidarity makers' and technocrats or 'administrators' in Indonesian politics. With regard to language policy, too, this distinction may be fundamental. The 'solidarity makers' would regard it essential to create an active identification with Bahasa Indonesia on the part of the Indonesian people, as an element of a more general identification with nationalism. One of the methods employed to reach this aim would be the opposition to Western influence through loanwords, and in accordance with this to develop a vocabulary which, based on concepts from the cultural and social environment of the average Indonesian, could further a genuine identification with Sukarnoist ideology. The technocrats, on the other hand, would generally be more in favour of Takdir's views on these issues, i.e. seek to develop a linguistic medium through which the ideology upon which Western technology is based could be promoted. In this view, language planning is a technical affair to be assigned to the experts, who work within a given social and political framework. Unlike the 'solidarity makers', they would not see it as a task to influence and change this framework.

If we turn back to the three degrees of acceptance of a language



standard, and relate them to these two basically different approaches to language policy, we would probably find that there is a connection. My hypothesis is that the approach of the 'solidarity makers', if it is successful, would result in an active acceptance and enthusiasm for the standard, even on the part of those who do not speak it themselves, and that this development in a later stage would create favourable conditions for an active participation in it. On the other hand, I fear that the technocratic approach would tend to make the standard language less accessible for those without a higher education and thus mark it as the language of power which can only be passively accepted by the powerless as inevitable.

As is well-known, the 'administrators' have had the upper hand in Indonesian politics since 1966. In my impression, standard Bahasa Indonesia is at present mainly informally standardised through press and broadcasting, as far as vocabulary and syntax (the functional aspects of language) are concerned, and this standardisation is rather fluctuating. "Vocabulary growth (or: change in vocabulary - LSV) is so rapid that students returning to Indonesia after a few years abroad sometimes jokingly comment that they can no longer read the newspapers - a statement which is only a partial exaggeration." (Tanner 1967:133). It is not possible for me to indicate how its real position among the Indonesian masses is - a thorough investigation would be needed to make a reliable statement about that.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Every self-respecting nation has to have a language. Not just a medium of communication, a "vernacular" or a "dialect", but a fully developed language. Anything less marks it as underdeveloped. --- the national ideal demands that there be a single linguistic code by means of which (-) communication can take place. --- The dialects, at least if they threaten to become languages, are potentially disruptive forces in a unified nation: they appeal to local loyalties, which could conceivably come into conflict with national loyalty. --- Nationalism has also tended to encourage external distinction, ---. In language this has meant the urge not only to have one language, but to have one's own language.

(Haugen 1966b:103=104)

If these ideals shall be fully realised, some other goals must be reached, viz. the active identification with and participation in the standard language of the nation by the entire population, and a linguistic and cultural self-consciousness on the part of this population. These ideals often come into conflict with each other, as the suppression of dialects and minority languages is liable to, sooner or later, provoke a reaction and thus further the disruptive forces which one

wanted to keep down. After all, no language community is completely uniform, and there is no reason to think that that will ever be achieved, as language usage is liable to a constant and gradual change. The Norwegian case shows that intense loyalty to local dialects can very well be combined with a just as intense national loyalty. A decentralist policy, through which every existing variety (dialect) of a language is regarded as socially acceptable, and through which the basic national unity in dialectal diversity is stressed, can foster more successful and integrated language societies than the centralist approach of e.g. France (where the resistance of suppressed lingual minorities as the Basques and the Bretons is a lot more violent than the language strife in Norway has ever been). In Indonesia, this should mean that the regional languages are fully respected as legitimate modes of expression for the peoples concerned, while Bahasa Indonesia find its natural place as a nation-wide medium of communication besides them. As far as I know, this is today the common opinion in Indonesia. I quote the Sundanese Ajip Roside (1966:40):

Certainly, the contradiction between Bahasa Indonesia and the regional languages is not of a fundamental nature. The function of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language and a national integration factor besides the flag, the national anthem and the national emblem cannot be challenged or taken over by any regional language. Thus, if in the future there arise voices in favor of granting the regional languages a better position, it should not be regarded as a danger towards the position of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language and as an element in the integration of the people.

Thus the motto of the Indonesian Republic: 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' ('There are many - there is one' or, more abstractly formulated: 'Unity in diversity') has a definite linguistic relevance.

However, as I have also tried to show in this paper, these questions cannot be isolated from the power structure of the language communities concerned. A strongly hierarchical social structure tends to be combined with sociolectal cleavage and more or less intense suppression of popular speech, while a more egalitarian social structure would tend to increase linguistic freedom and solidarity across dialect boundaries, including the acceptance and active participation in a common national standard language. For those who are actively engaged in language planning and language standardisation I think it is important to be aware of these implications of their work. There is a relationship of mutual influence between the social structure of a community and its sociolinguistic structure, so that in standardising a language, one exerts influence upon the social and political structure of the community concerned, either strengthening or weakening it. On the other hand, this social and political structure itself determines the

extent to which standardisation after a given principle can succeed. Language standardisation, in short, is a political as well as technical act, and in choosing between the possibilities being at one's disposal in any concrete issue one should always try to oversee the political and social consequences of one's choice.

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# THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE DISSEMINATION OF PILIPINO: A FIRST STEP TOWARDS STANDARDISATION<sup>1</sup>

Andrew Gonzalez

## 1. INTRODUCTION: A PRIOR QUESTION: DISSEMINATION FOR STANDARDISATION

The topic of this international conference has to do with standardisation. Standardisation implies uniformity, arising from a codification written or unwritten usually based on the influentials of a society.

For language development, Einar Haugen (1972) has set down various aspects: selection of the norm, codification of the norm, elaboration of function, and acceptance (and propagation) of the norm.

First of all, selection of the norm. Most of us were hoping that this had been settled in 1936, when the then Commonwealth Government, following the mandate of the 1935 Constitution, by a presidential order selected Tagalog as the basis of the national language.

This is not the time nor the occasion to indulge in polemics. Least of all should we indulge in intramurals when we are playing host to our linguistic peers from Southeast Asia.

For the legal purposes, the choice was made in 1936, based on the fundamental law of the land in 1935; however, as far as I can see the choice was unmade, assuming that the ratification by the barangays of the Constitution of 1973 is a valid one, in 1973. We are now supposed to convene the National Assembly, as yet not convoked, which is mandated to take steps towards the formation of a new national language

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to be called FILIPINO, which will be an amalgam of existing Philippine languages.

Elsewhere (Gonzalez 1974) I have cast doubt on the feasibility of such an enterprise.

For purposes of discussion, however, let us grant that one can select FILIPINO. The problem with selection not by *sensus populi* but by *fiat* is that the language which has been selected is but a name without any linguistic reality as yet. It is still in the making. In effect, what we have done through approval of this provision of the Constitution is to place blind faith in the national assembly, to tell them - give us this language to be called FILIPINO, an amalgam of the Philippine languages.

The work of the National Language Academy will be to codify such an amalgam, not by field work, not by elicitation techniques, not by interviewing the exponents of culture and of good linguistic usage in the culture, but by going through the dry-as-dust dissertations of linguistics to find out common traits of the Philippine languages and to codify such into an artificially confected language which presumably will be accepted once more through a referendum.

This step is a tremendous boost to the ego of linguists but hardly a realistic assessment of what is socially possible, since we do not know of any such artificially confected language ever having taken life from the pages of a linguist's scholarly work.

Hence, language codification in this instance becomes the codification, prescriptive rather than descriptive, of a group of as-yet-to-be-named linguists of the National Language Academy, rather than the standardisation set by the influentials of the community and by usage and consensus.

The code's norms are those based on the investigations of linguists formalised in terms of presumably phrase-structure rules based on a common grammatical base as well as a set of ordered transformations common to the Philippine languages. Presumably because of the relatedness of the Philippine languages, the semantic component will likewise be common. The phonology of such a language will presumably likewise be based on a common inventory of phonological segments and a set of process statements or generative phonological rules.

Historically, the standardisation of a language has taken place within a living community of speakers, who have been using the language and who in turn because of their social rank, situation in a geographical or commercial centre of trade and influence, are able to set the features of what will be accepted as the standard dialect.

This standard dialect must then be codified, elaborated and propa-



gated among various communities of the same nation or political unit with more or less resistance or acceptance.

It becomes the property of a creative minority of intellectuals and leaders who proceed to use the standardised or language-in-process-of-standardisation as a vehicle of thought, and of social discourse in various domains till it becomes in effect 'elaborated'.

As I said, the present Philippine situation does not fit this paradigm: We have chosen a name, not yet a language; we are awaiting the formation and codification of this language; we cannot disseminate it until we have ratified it by a referendum; we cannot ratify it until it has been formed; once formed and ratified, we must disseminate it. Elaboration comes last. One cannot elaborate a language which as yet has not yet come to be.

## 2. PILIPINO (TAGALOG) AND ITS DISSEMINATION

Rather than deal with the national language, Filipino, therefore, I would rather deal with one of the official languages of the Philippines, namely Tagalog (renamed since 1959 Pilipino), which has now been accepted as one of the official languages of the country and to see the factors disseminating Pilipino within the next generation among Filipinos in the Philippines.

I shall prescind from polemics and from value judgements and deal mainly only with the facts and the social situation in the Philippines.

I shall focus only on Pilipino, not on English, or any other Philippine language. Whatever I say about Pilipino may be true of other Philippine languages as well but at least, this much I will claim, it will be true for Pilipino.

What I will try to do is to review major and minor studies done within the past ten years which give an indication of the dissemination of Pilipino in the Philippines so as to be able to essay some predictions on its future in the Philippines as an official language.

My sources therefore will not be primary. I shall base myself on existing studies, to try to ferret out from sociological and demographic studies some trends on the dissemination of Pilipino.

Hence, rather than speak of standardisation, I would rather speak of the social context of dissemination of Pilipino, focusing especially on the elements in Philippine society which are presently contributing to the spread of Pilipino in the islands.

Pilipino (Tagalog) has been selected as an official language, it has been codified by many grammarians, it is presently being elaborated by a creative minority in some of our tertiary level institutions, and

is presently undergoing rapid dissemination especially by the mass media. We would like to focus on the final topic, that of dissemination.

### 3. REVIEW OF STUDIES

One of the instrumentalities, though certainly not the only one and not the main one, for the spread of a language is not only its teaching in the school system as a subject but above all its use as medium of instruction. With Department Order No. 25, series 1974, spelling out the bilingual education policy of the Department of Education and Culture, according to a set time-table, we can project the increased use of Pilipino (see Gonzalez 1974a, 1974b). However, we cannot really quantify this spread with hard data, since we do not as yet know how well the policy will succeed and how well it will be implemented.

In connection with this, we would like to review the results of the 1968 Language Policy Survey of the Philippines done by the PNC Language Center staff (which surveyed parents and teachers), compare the findings of this survey with a smaller survey of teachers in 1970 within the Department of Education, and finally compare further the results with the results of the SCOBES survey of teachers done in 1974.

The comparisons will be loose ones since the instruments as well as questions posed and the respondents and purposes of the survey are not all the same. Still we can ferret out data which might be of interest.

In addition to the school system, another factor for the dissemination of Pilipino is the migration of people. We do not have massive and exhaustive studies of migration patterns in the Philippines, to give indices of the mobility of members of our society. Still, we will try to present data on estimated inflow and outflow of people in each province of the country.

Perhaps more powerful than the school system in the spread of any language is the use of the mass media and the language in which the mass carries on its task. Here, we can review some existing studies, on the communication behaviour of certain groups (notably the UP Manila Complex Study), some statistics from the Mass Media Yearbook, some data from the National Media Production Center, Philippine Mass Communication Research Society as well as movies, again to see the dominance of Pilipino in these areas.

A recent Philippine Social Science Council Survey (1972) on ethnic stereotypes and attitudes gives some idea of attitudes of people all over the Philippines about language and interestingly enough from the language of the interviews some indication on the further spread of Pilipino.

Finally, we shall deal with data from the 1970 census on the number of speakers of Pilipino, whether as one's mother tongue or as an acquired language. I shall compare the figures with previous censuses of 1939, 1948, and 1960. And on the basis of the figures, we shall try to project the future spread of Pilipino using a technique used in statistics, simple regression analysis, to project what will happen in 1980, 1990, and the year 2000.

### 3.1. DATA FROM SCHOOL SYSTEM SURVEYS

#### 3.1.1. Language Policy Survey of the Philippines

The Language Study Center of PNC conducted the survey in 1968 with the purpose of gathering data that could serve as the basis for making decisions on the language of the schools and for planning and directing language growth (see Otanés and Sibayan 1969). The general aim of the study was to determine the language use and language attitudes of the Filipinos in certain domains.

A total of 2379 householders and 2342 teachers participated in the survey. These respondents came from a combined number of 254 communities representing 21 regions of the country. The findings of the survey were as follows:

##### 1. Native language

Two percent of the householders and 3% of the teachers indicated having learned more than one language simultaneously during childhood. Tagalog was the language first learned by 23% of the householders and 20% of the teachers; it ranked first in frequency for both groups with Cebuano a second (19%) for the householders and Ilocano a second (18%) for the teachers.

##### 2. Language of contact with absent family members

Writing is the most frequent means of contact with absent family members. The leading languages of contact in the householders' and teachers' lists are Tagalog (Pilipino) and English respectively.

##### 3. Language used for speaking with certain types of people

a. Philippine Language 1 (first Philippine language mentioned by respondent) is the language most frequently used by both the householders and the teachers in talking to almost all categories of people which include spouse, children, neighbour, policeman, priest, teacher, doctor, tindera, and stranger. The two groups of respondents, however, differed in the fact that whereas the householders mentioned Philippine Language 1 most frequently, the teachers mentioned language combination 2 (combination other than English and Pilipino) as language most preferred when speaking to teachers

and doctors. Hence, the vernaculars or first languages (including Pilipino or Tagalog are the languages ordinarily used for the above categories of people. Among the householders, the second most frequent choice for all categories is Pilipino; among teachers, the second most frequent choice is Pilipino for speaking to neighbours, policemen, and tinderas.

b. The use of English is associated with certain special purposes as indicated by the fact that categories among whom English gets the greatest percentage of use are priests, teachers, and doctors.

#### 4. Language usually spoken

There is more bilingualism in Philippine languages among the teachers and the teachers' spouses than among the householders and the householders' spouses as indicated by their use of language combination 2 (Language combinations not Pilipino and English).

#### 5. Language preferred for reading

a. The language most preferred by both groups of respondents in reading books on eight subjects was English. The teachers' preference for English books is significantly higher (71% to 83%) than the householders' (26% to 28%).

b. The next most frequently mentioned by the householders was Philippine Language 1, while in the case of the teachers, it was Language Combination 1 (English and Pilipino) in all eight subjects.

c. Pilipino is the third preference of the two groups of respondents in all subjects except technology and religion.

#### 6. Tagalog vs. Pilipino

To the question: 'Is Tagalog different from Pilipino?' 61% of the householders and 70% of the teachers answered that they were the same.

#### 7. Form of Pilipino preferred to school use

Most of the respondents (44% of the householders and 74% of the teachers) favour the 'puristic' type of Pilipino as the variety that should be used in the classroom.

#### 8. Form of Pilipino acceptable for journalism

Nineteen percent of householders and 25% of the teachers who read Taliba favour the Pilipino used in this daily. This indicates that there is some acceptance among those who read the paper, at least for the journalistic type of reading, of the variety of written Pilipino used in the daily which closely reflects spoken Manila Tagalog as opposed to the formal Tagalog-based Pilipino used in the schools.

#### 9. Language needed to be successful in 21 occupations

In eleven out of 21 occupations investigated, the language combination English and Pilipino was felt by both the householders and the

teachers to be most necessary for success, while for five other occupations, Pilipino alone was mentioned.

10. Reasons for wanting children to use certain languages

Both householders and the teachers believe that English will be used by their children for personal advancement or personal goals. Both also agree that the use of Pilipino is for purely nationalistic goals.

11. Preferences for medium of instruction

Most of the respondents prefer English to any other language as medium of instruction at all three levels, primary, intermediate, and high school, and more prefer Philippine Language 1 (presumably referring to the Philippine language spoken in the community) to Pilipino at all levels.

12. Languages best suited for teaching certain subjects

Arithmetic and science were most frequently mentioned as the subjects best taught in English by both groups of respondents. Good manners and Work Education were the subjects most frequently mentioned by both respondents as the subjects best taught in the local vernacular of the region.

13. Determining language policy

Both the householders and the teachers believe that the persons and the entities most directly concerned, particularly the parents and local teachers, should have an important role in the determination of language policy.

14. Language and non-attendance in school

Language difficulty does not appear to be an important reason for children being out of school.

15. Language used for radio listening

a. Of the 2248 householders who listened to five or less radio stations, 527 or 23% gave the combination Pilipino and English and other Philippine language(s) as their most frequent reply for the languages used in the radio programmes listened to. Among the teachers, the same combination was the frequent response (713 or 32%).

b. Of the householders who listened to six or more radio stations, 152 or seven percent gave the combination Pilipino and English as their most frequent reply. The same language combination occurred most frequently in the teachers' responses (98 or 9%).

16. Languages listened to for five types of radio programmes

The programme choices of the householders were Philippine languages (Pilipino and vernaculars) while the language predominantly listened to by the teachers was English.

### 3.1.2. A Study on Teacher Preferences on the Use of Pilipino as Medium of Instruction

The objective of the survey (Bureau of Public Schools Bulletin No. 1, series 1973, reporting a survey conducted in 1970) was to determine how well administrators and teachers could use Pilipino as a medium of instruction.

Findings of the survey were:

1. The total number of respondents was 7230 superintendents, supervisors, principals, and classroom teachers. Approximately 25% of the respondents were from the Tagalog regions.
2. A majority of the respondents (62%) stated that they could use Pilipino as a medium of instruction either very well, well or fairly well. Thirty-two percent (32%) could use it but with difficulty and only 3% could not teach at all in the language.
3. The number of teachers who said 'no' to the use of Pilipino in the elementary grades almost equalled those who said 'yes'. Of the 'yes' responses more were conditional - they could teach using Pilipino as medium of instruction but only in certain subjects and grades.
4. The teachers did not favour the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction in high school.
5. A strong preference for the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction was indicated by those in the elementary grades (23.13%) and by 24.88% in high school. However, these groups indicated that Pilipino should be used in certain subjects only. Proficiency and literacy in the language was the reason most frequently mentioned for this choice.
6. A strong preference for the use of Pilipino in grades one and two was indicated by 20.73% of those who preferred its use in certain grades only. To make the children literate and proficient in the national language was the reason most frequently mentioned for this choice.
7. According to the respondents, lack of instructional materials and inadequate preparation of teachers were the two problems most likely to be encountered in the use of Pilipino as a medium of instruction. The least problems are lack of interest by children and opposition from parents.

### 3.1.3. Assessing Resources for Bilingual Education: A Report

The most recent survey on the attitudes of teachers toward readiness to teach in Pilipino was conducted by the Survey Committee on Bilingual Education (SCOBE) in 1974 (see Gonzalez and Postrado 1974) to constitute a data base for preparing guidelines for the implementation of the

National Board of Education policy in the use of Pilipino and English as media of instruction. The questions answered in the survey were:

1. How widely used is Pilipino as a medium of instruction in various areas and regions?
2. What kind of materials in Pilipino are available?
3. How ready are our teachers to begin using Pilipino as medium of instruction?
4. What manpower resources are available in retraining teachers to use Pilipino as a medium of instruction?
5. What kind of programme for teachers should be instituted to enable them to use Pilipino as medium of instruction?

The five main problems were dealt with and presented in sectional reports. However, we will review only a section of the report, which is on Ability of Teachers to Teach in Pilipino, which answers question number 3 above.

Using a stratified sampling procedure (with random sampling for each subset), with schools stratified as either central or barrio, mother high school or pilot barrio high school, urban and rural private school, a target sampling of 5% of the teacher population was aimed for. Responses were obtained from 15,989 content subject teacher-respondents (private, public, and vocational), teachers who were teaching subjects other than English language and Pilipino language, representing eleven regions of the country with a combined total of 98 divisions. Southern Tagalog (Region IV) had the biggest representation of 4020 teachers or 25.14% followed by Central Luzon (Region III) with 3186 teachers or 19.93%. Regarding personal and educational background and teaching experience of the teachers:

1. Of the total respondents, 85.81% or 13,672 are females; 7291 or 45.60% are within the 25-34 age bracket and only 1,159 or 7.25% are below 25 years of age. In terms of teaching experience: 31.12% or 4976 have had 5-9 years; 19.68% or 3146 have had 10-14 years; and 17.84% or 2852 have had less than five years of teaching experience.
2. A total of 7311 or 45.73% of the respondents hold BSEE degrees; 2909 or 18.19% have BSE degrees; 2460 or 15.39% have BSE (inverted) degrees; and 2051 or 12.83% are ETC graduates.
3. Only 458 or 2.86% of the respondents majored in Pilipino; another 503 or 3.15% minored in Pilipino; while 2402 have not taken any course in Pilipino at all.
4. Only 423 or 2.65% of the sample from all schools have masters' degrees, of which only a marginal number earned graduate units in Pilipino while 15,147 or 94.78% have no graduate units in Pilipino at all.



5. 11,350 teachers or 70.98% have taken no in-service training in Pilipino.

On their self-rated ability to teach in Pilipino and English:

1. Teachers from all systems perceive their ability to teach in English as good regardless of grade and region.

2. Understandably, teachers from the Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog areas regardless of grade and system, except private elementary schools in the Southern Tagalog region, consider their ability to teach in Pilipino as 'good'. Others who rate their ability to teach in Pilipino as 'good' are: public elementary school teachers from Southern Mindanao, and private elementary school teachers from the Ilocos region.

3. Those who perceive their ability to teach in Pilipino as 'fair' are: public elementary school teachers from Ilocos, Cagayan Valley, Central and Eastern Visayas, and Western and Northern Mindanao; public secondary school teachers from the Ilocos region; private elementary school teachers from the Southern Tagalog region; vocational school teachers from the Southern Mindanao region; and some private secondary school teachers.

4. Those who believe they have 'no ability' or 'little ability' to teach in Pilipino are: Grade V teachers of Eastern Visayas public elementary schools; public high school teachers from the Cagayan Valley, Visayas and Mindanao regions; vocational school teachers from the Western Visayas, Ilocos, Central Visayas and Western Mindanao regions; and some private secondary school teachers.

5. Mathematics and science subjects are perceived most difficult to teach in Pilipino by all respondents regardless of region or type of school. Included in mathematics are algebra, geometry, and physics; included in science are general science, chemistry, and biology.

6. On the teachers' perceived ability to teach in Pilipino, there exist significant differences according to region, subject and grade for public elementary school teachers and according to region and subject for public and private secondary as well as private elementary school teachers.

7. No significant correlation was established between the public elementary, private elementary, and vocational school teachers' ability to teach all subjects in Pilipino and the three variables: M.A. units, number of courses in Pilipino taken, and length of in-service training, except in the ability of public elementary school teachers to teach character education in Pilipino, which was found to have positive and significant relationship with the number of M.A. units in Pilipino said teachers have taken.



8. A positive and significant correlation between the public and private secondary school teachers' ability to teach all subjects in Pilipino and the M.A. units they have earned is evident.

As regards teachers' attitudes toward training designed to improve their ability to teach in Pilipino:

1. Teachers from all systems favour training to improve their ability to teach in Pilipino in the following rank ordering of favourable attitudes: private elementary teachers, public elementary teachers, private secondary teachers, public secondary teachers, and vocational teachers.
2. Generally, teachers from the Ilocos regions, in all levels and systems, except those in public elementary schools, lead the rest in registering favourable attitudes toward training, while teachers from the various Visayan regions generally end up on the tail end.
3. 59.79% or 8271 of the teacher respondents recommended formal course work and seminars for training.

On the preference for Pilipino as medium of instruction:

1. Although most of the respondents are willing to try using Pilipino while English as presently used would still be employed, the general trend is toward the use of Pilipino as auxiliary to English, except in public elementary schools where Pilipino is used extensively.
2. Aside from the expected strong preference of the Southern Tagalog respondents for Pilipino, other significant differences in the degree of preference for either English or Pilipino exist in each school system, level, and region.

#### 3.1.4. Summary of Surveys

From the results of the three surveys, a noticeable change in attitudes among teachers on the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction can be noted from 1968 when the first survey was conducted by the PNC group to the present year 1974 when the last survey was conducted by SCOB. Although the samples used in the three surveys were not the same respondents and were unequal in sizes, we can still take note of the significant trend whereby Pilipino is becoming more acceptable to be used as language of instruction in subjects other than Pilipino among teachers. However, it is likewise apparent that they would still prefer to teach subjects such as Math and Science in English. Hence, while the use of Pilipino as the medium of instruction for all subjects is not acceptable, its use as the medium of instruction for certain subjects is feasible. Even among householders (in the first survey), 27.03% indicated that content subjects such as Good Manners and Health Education, Art Education and Work Education could best be taught in Pilipino.

## 3.2. MIGRATION PATTERNS STUDY

Migration is another factor for language dissemination. Thus, knowledge of the number of people migrating to Tagalog-speaking areas would give us an idea of how many will learn to speak Tagalog in the future. Table 1 shows estimates of net-internal migration in the country during the ten years period from 1960 to 1970.

TABLE 1  
ESTIMATES OF NET INTER-PROVINCIAL MIGRATION FOR  
EACH PROVINCE OF THE PHILIPPINES: 1960-1970

Region and Province	Number	Region and Province	Number
Region I - Manila and Suburbs		Region VI - Bicol and Masbate	
Manila	-85,708	Albay	-37,035
		Camarines Norte	- 4,392
		Camarines Sur	-164,363
Region II - Ilocos and Mt. Province		Catanduanes	-45,162
Abra	- 1,352	Masbate	7,740
Ilocos Norte	-14,028	Sorsogon	-57,556
Ilocos Sur	-34,453		
La Union	- 7,527		
Mountain Province	-11,100		
Region III - Cagayan Valley and Batanes		Region VII - Western Visayas	
Batanes	- 1,849	Aklan	-30,351
Cagayan	-19,025	Antique	-21,833
Isabela	-24,590	Capiz	-25,817
Nueva Vizcaya	28,619	Iloilo	-89,249
		Negros Occidental	-258,396
		Romblon	-12,738
Region IV - Central Luzon		Region VIII - Eastern Visayas	
Bataan	14,693	Bohol	-69,965
Bulacan	88,787	Cebu	-97,243
Nueva Ecija	13,261	Leyte	-200,428
Pampanga	38,097	Negros Oriental	-72,609
Pangasinan	-92,787	Samar	-157,545
Tarlac	-14,398		
Zambales	49,980		
Region V - Southern Luzon and Islands		Region IX - Northern Mindanao	
Batangas	31,740	Agusan	60,291
Cavite	23,045	Bukidnon	106,100
Laguna	60,355	Lanao del Norte	-21,899
Marinduque	-11,262	Lanao del Sur	-80,128
Occidental Mindoro	20,615	Misamis Occidental	-13,178
Oriental Mindoro	8,938	Misamis Oriental	- 6,814
Palawan	7,179	Surigao	- 188
Quezon	77,412		
Rizal	784,662		
		Region X - Southern Mindanao and Sulu	
		Cotabato	127,533
		Davao	191,088
		Sulu	-16,098
		Zamboanga del Norte	9,739
		Zamboanga del Sur	2,009

Data were obtained from Yun Kim 1972.

'/' is for in-migration and '-' is for out-migration.

As can be seen from Table 1, four predominantly Tagalog-speaking provinces in Region IV (Central Luzon) and eight Tagalog provinces from Region V (Southern Luzon and Islands) gained population (mostly in thousands) through internal migration during the period 1960-1970. In Bicol and Masbate (Region VI), only one province gained population and in Northern Mindanao (Region IX) only two provinces increased in population owing to internal migration. All of the Visayan provinces lost thousands of their people while in Southern Mindanao and Sulu (Region X), four out of five provinces received migrants from other places.

Manila lost 85,708 of its population, while there was a trend of people migrating to provinces surrounding Manila and nearby provinces. For instance, Rizal gained 784,662 persons while Bulacan, Laguna, Cavite, Bataan, Batangas, and Nueva Ecija gained a total 231,881. On the whole, the population movement in the country was toward the vicinity of a large city, particularly to the Greater Manila Metropolitan area, and also to the frontiers of Mindanao. Most of the migrants were from Ilocos and Mt. Province and the Visayan regions.

We are not prepared at this time to make categorical statements on the linguistic implications of such migrations, except to make the observation that in general, because of the other factors making for the spread of Pilipino, Tagalog speakers who migrate to non-Tagalog speaking areas usually retain the Tagalog language. Usually, such Tagalogs in migrating to other provinces stay in the urban areas. On the other hand, non-Tagalogs migrating to other areas, again usually urban areas in Tagalog speaking regions, while retaining their vernaculars at home soon acquire Tagalog (Pilipino) for survival. Usually the second generation does not speak the vernacular. The whole process is part of de-ethnicisation, a phenomenon arising from mobility and urbanisation.

### 3.3. MASS MEDIA STUDIES

#### 3.3.1. The Manila Complex Study

First, we would like to review one of the studies done by the U.P. team submitted to the Social Science Research Council of the University of the Philippines on July 1, 1971. The study is commonly referred to as The Manila Complex Study, which is an in-depth analysis of several sub-communities in Greater Manila with regard to sociological, anthropological and communication factors related to urban social change.

The samples, roughly estimated to constitute 10 to 30% of the total population of the three communities studied, were drawn from: Broadway,

203 or 32.5%, a squatter settlement; Project 7, 173 or 10.3%, a government housing area; and San Miguel, 453 or 20.5%, a commercial-residential district. A simple random sampling procedure was used in the study of Broadway and Project 7 communities, while stratified random sampling based on socio-economic criteria was employed in the study of San Miguel community. The choice of the three communities as study locales was based on the socio-economic levels of the resident samples. Each community was covered for a year corresponding to one phase: the first, Broadway, from 1967-1968; the second, Project 7, from 1968-1969; and the third, San Miguel, from 1969-1970.

Findings of this study revealed that:

1. In general, there was a high level of ownership of the mass media - radio, television and newspapers in the three communities surveyed, except the very low ownership of television sets in Broadway, because this medium was financially beyond the reach of the people in this area. Newspapers had the highest ownership among the print media, followed by general-interest magazines. Comics scored lowest in Project 7 and San Miguel, while in Broadway comics had the highest ownership.
2. Factors such as income and educational levels had significant relationship with media ownership.
3. In the readership of print media, newspapers were found to be the most read by respondents in Project 7 and San Miguel, followed by magazines and comics, while illustrated comics in Pilipino were the most read in Broadway.
4. Radio listenership data showed bias in favour of entertainment and at definitely regular and preferred listening times - early morning between four and ten and early evening from six to nine.
5. With regard to purpose of listening, the respondents' reasons for patronising specific programs cluster around two of the radio's better known functions - for information and for entertainment. This finding gives support to the common observation that the radio in the Philippines is still primarily an entertainment rather than an educational medium. Programmes mostly monitored by the respondents were Tagalog programmes.
6. While only a few households reported having television sets in Broadway, a majority stated that they watched television programmes in the homes of neighbours and friends, in places of work and turned-on television sets in gasoline and appliance stores. Television ownership and viewership was comparatively very high in Project 7, since those who did not own television sets also watched programmes elsewhere. The more urban style of living in San Miguel inhibited those who did not own TV sets to go out of their homes to watch programmes in the

homes of relatives and friends; thus the low level of viewership.

7. Peak television viewing hours coincided with the free hours of the respondents in the three communities, early evening and late evening, nine to twelve midnight, as in radio listening.

8. With regard to the purpose of viewing the respondents clearly tagged television as the 'entertainment medium'. Examples of entertaining programmes respondents enjoyed watching were Tagalog variety programmes such as *Buhay Artista*, *Tawag ng Tanghalan*, etc. While male viewers preferred sports, especially basketball and boxing, female respondents stated preference for the full-length Pilipino movies. News programmes were also viewed for their informational and at times educational value.

9. Generally a prevailing urban characteristic indicated that the respondents tend to regard the mass media highly as compared to interpersonal sources in meeting their specific and more sophisticated needs such as the need for more detailed information. Also the relaxing qualities of audio-visual media and immediacy make for ease of comprehension. Rural areas tend to give greater value to interpersonal media in terms of news and advice, rather than to the mass media.

10. Of the various mass media, newspapers were reported as the most credible, followed by radio and television.

### 3.3.2. Mass Media Data

#### 3.3.2.1. *Radio*

In the Philippines in 1973, seven out of ten homes owned radio sets with Greater Manila having the highest ownership (85%). Among the provinces, Greater Laoag was next to Manila with 83.5% home radio owners followed by Baguio City (83%) and Cagayan de Oro City (83%). Zamboanga City, the radio ownership of which was 82%, ranked fourth. For the other provinces, see Table 2.

Apparently, high radio ownership was not always associated with wide listenership since some places which were almost saturated with radio sets registered lower listenership. For instance, Greater Manila showed only 32% average listenership during daytime and still lower in the evening (15%), while Iligan City which had 73% home radio owners had 40% listenership (Table 2). Perhaps a more powerful mass medium, such as television, attracts more of the Greater Manila population.

TABLE 2  
PERCENT RADIO OWNERSHIP AND AVERAGE LISTENERSHIP  
IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE PHILIPPINES

LOCATION	RANK	OWNERSHIP	LISTENERSHIP	
			DAYTIME	EVENING
Greater Manila	1	85	32	15
Greater Laoag	2	83.5	32	-
Cagayan de Oro City	3	83	26	32
Baguio City	3	83	40	-
Zamboanga City	4	82	34	-
Greater Bacolod	5	75	32	32
Cotobato City	6	74	37	-
Greater Naga	7	73	33	22
Iligan City	7	73	40	-
Dagupan City	8	72	20	-
Legaspi City	8	72	35	-
Butuan City	9	71	26	-
Greater Iloilo	10	70	34	40
Urdaneta	11	69	22	-
Greater Davao	11	69	30	24
Greater Cebu	11	69	26.8	24.2
Greater Lucena	12	65.3	25	22
Surigao City	13	65	26	-
Bislig	13	65	26	-

Rank was based on % radio set ownership. Daytime Listening time was 6 am - 6 pm while evening listening time was 6 pm - 9 pm (Monday to Sunday). Source of data: 1974 Media Factbook.

To find out the dialects/languages preferred by the listeners with different mother tongues, Table 3 is presented, which reveals the dialects used in radio homes and dialects preferred for programming in four non-Tagalog cities, namely Dagupan, Cotabato, Zamboanga and Davao.

It is interesting to note that in three out of the four surveyed cities, Tagalog was the most highly preferred dialect for radio programming even in homes where other major dialects were used. Cebuano was surpassed even in cities like Cotabato, Zamboanga, and Davao, where native Cebuano speakers were significantly higher than native Tagalog speakers. Likewise, in Pangasinan, Tagalog radio programmes were more highly preferred to Pangasinan.

TABLE 3  
MAJOR DIALECTS USED IN RADIO HOMES AND DIALECTS  
PREFERRED FOR PROGRAMMING

MAJOR DIALECTS USED IN RADIO HOMES	%	DIALECTS PREFERRED FOR PROGRAMMING	%
DAGUPAN CITY			
Pangasinan	88	Tagalog	74
Tagalog	7	Pangasinan	14
Ilocano	5	English	11
		Ilocano	7
TOTAL	100	TOTAL	**
COTABATO CITY			
Cebuano	39	Tagalog	83
Tagalog	31	English	10
Ilongo	15	Cebuano	5
Chabacano	10	Ilonggo	1
Ilocano	2	No preference	1
Moslem	1		
Others (Waray, Chinese and Pangasinan)	2		
TOTAL	100	TOTAL	100
ZAMBOANGA CITY			
Chabacano	71	Chabacano	43
Cebuano	18	Tagalog	28
Tagalog	5	English	21
English	1	Cebuano	15
Others (Ilonggo, Ilocano, Spanish, Chinese, Bicol, Joloano, Waray and Yakan)	5		
TOTAL	100	TOTAL	**
DAVAO CITY			
Cebuano	65.3	Tagalog	52
Tagalog	20	Cebuano	36.7
English	3.3	English	4.7
Other dialect related to Cebuano (Boholano)	1.3	DK/NA*	6.7
Others (Chinese, Waray, Ilonggo, Pampangao, Ilocano, Chabacano, Bicolano and Manobo)	14.7		
TOTAL	**	TOTAL	**

Data were taken from 1974 Media Factbook.

\*\* Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

### 3.3.2.2. Television

#### 3.3.2.2.1. 1974 Media Factbook Findings

Like radio, television is a primary factor for language dissemination, especially among middle and upper socio-economic class families among whom television is a favourite form of mass medium. Table 4 presents ownership and average viewership in different parts of the Philippines in 1973 based on the 1974 Media Factbook. It shows that Greater Manila TV ownership is significantly highest (63%). In Greater Cebu more than one-fifth (22%) of the population owns a TV set, while Greater Naga has 20% homes with TV. In other parts, most TV ownership is less than 20%.

Regarding the number of televiewers, Greater Manila and Cebu have the biggest audience (52%) while Greater Naga registered almost an equal percentage of viewership (51%) as indicated in Table 4.

TABLE 4  
PERCENT TV OWNERSHIP AND AVERAGE VIEWERSHIP  
IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE PHILIPPINES

LOCATION	RANK	OWNERSHIP	VIEWERSHIP (EVENING)
Greater Manila	1	63	52
Greater Cebu	2	22	52
Greater Naga	3	20	51
Greater Davao	4	17	42
Cagayan de Oro	5	15	32
Greater Bacolod	6	14	38
Greater Dagupan	6	14	35
Greater Baguio	7	9	32
Greater Iloilo	8	7	38.4

Rank was based on % ownership.

Viewership time is 6 pm to 9 pm (Monday to Sunday).

#### 3.3.2.2.2. Content Analysis of Current TV Programmes

To find out the languages used in current TV programmes, content analysis of one week TV programmes published in a daily newspaper was performed. The results are shown in Table 5.

It can be gleaned from Table 5 that most current TV programmes are in English. In Manila, almost one third of the total daily programmes are in Tagalog while 66.3% are in English. A small percentage use both English and Tagalog as media of communication (2.46%). In the provinces, Bacolod and Greater Cebu present even fewer Tagalog TV programmes (26.35% in Greater Cebu and 28.02% in Bacolod). However, these prov-



inces use Tagalog in TV programmes more than other places in Bicol and the Visayan regions.

TABLE 5				
DAILY AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF TV PROGRAMMES ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE USED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE PHILIPPINES				
LOCATION	TAGALOG	LANGUAGE ENGLISH	USED TAGALOG & ENGLISH	OTHERS
Greater Manila	30.68	66.36	2.46	0.64
Greater Cebu	26.36	67.29	5.24	1.33
Bacolod	28.02	69.23	2.63	0
Davao	15.66	83.13	1.19	0
Iriga and Naga	11.63	83.72	3.48	.84
Cagayan de Oro and Tacloban	21.05	73.68	5.71	0
Others include Chinese and Visayan. (Based on content analysis of TV Programmes of <i>Bulletin Today</i> dated October 17 - October 23, 1974.)				

### 3.3.2.2.3. Philippine Mass Communication Research Society Survey Findings

It is interesting to note that in a survey conducted in 1973 by the Philippine Mass Communication Research Society, despite the bigger number of English TV programmes, two Tagalog programmes topped Greater Manila's once-a-week evening shows. However, differences in order to priority by economic class are apparent (see Table 6). Two English shows ranked third and fourth only, while another Tagalog presentation was rated fifth.

Among multi-weekly evening programmes, more English shows were included in the list of top programmes. Only one Tagalog programme was included, which ranked third. Moreover, viewers seemed to have homogeneous preferences for the five top TV shows (see Table 7).

Similarly, in Greater Cebu, Tagalog programmes were ranked second and third according to viewers of once-a-week evening TV shows (Table 8). For the multi-weekly shows, Tagalog programmes were placed in the fourth and fifth places (Table 9). Furthermore, responses of different economic class subjects were more uniform for the multi-weekly evening TV programmes and more varied for the once-a-week evening TV shows.

TABLE 6  
Top Once-a-Week Evening TV Programmes by Economic  
Class in Greater Manila

PROGRAM	MEDIUM	RANK	NUMBER OF TV HOMES CALLED	ECONOMIC CLASS			TOTAL %
				Upper %	Middle %	Lower %	
Superstar	Tagalog	1	467	7.7	34.0	8.6	50.3
Nora Cinderella	Tagalog	2	413	4.6	33.2	10.4	48.2
Thursday at the Movies	English	3	240	2.9	35.0	8.3	46.2
Sunday Suspense Theater	English	4	360	2.8	27.2	12.2	42.2
Padre de Familia	Tagalog	5	110	10.0	30.9	0.9	41.8

TABLE 7  
Top Multi-Weekly Evening TV Programmes by Economic  
Class in Greater Manila

MICAA 73-74	English	1	3663	6.0	29.2	15.6	50.8
DPI Report	English	2	918	6.0	19.2	11.3	36.5
Tony Santos Presents	Tagalog	3	752	3.6	16.2	8.3	28.1
News Watch	English	4	583	2.9	13.6	11.1	27.6
The Samurai	English	5	499	0.4	7.0	2.0	9.4

TABLE 8  
Top Once-a-Week Evening TV Programmes by Economic  
Class in Greater Cebu

Hawaii Five-0	English	1	663	18.3	42.5	3.9	64.7
Superstar	Tagalog	2	265	5.7	45.3	3.0	54.0
Padre de Familia	Tagalog	3	326	7.0	35.9	3.4	46.3
Apache Rifles (Thursday Night at the Movies)	English	4	631	8.9	30.9	2.5	42.3
Nichols	English	5	315	13.3	25.1	2.6	41.0

TABLE 9  
Top Multi-Weekly Evening TV Programmes by Economic  
Class in Cebu

My Favorite Martian	English	1	535	8.2	24.9	0.9	34.0
MICAA 73-74	English	2	1011	5.7	23.1	2.9	31.7
The Samurai	English	3	349	2.9	8.0	1.7	12.6
Super J	Tagalog	4	1179	1.4	6.2	0.7	8.3
Sine Seben	Tagalog	5	993	1.0	6.7	0.5	8.2

### 3.3.3. Movies

Another entertainment medium and a factor responsible for the spread of Pilipino language is the cinema. However, foreign films have continuously dominated the movie business, especially American movies, as revealed by Table 10.

Year	Foreign		Local		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1973	578	78.32	160	21.68	738	100
1972	508	71.95	198	28.05	706	100
1971	532	67.09	261	32.91	793	100
1970	475	65.34	252	34.66	727	100
1969	550	73.92	194	26.08	744	100
1968	549	76.25	171	23.75	720	100
1967	525	76.20	164	23.80	689	100
1966	357	64.56	196	35.44	553	100
1965	370	65.14	198	34.86	568	100

Data were gathered from the Board of  
Censors for Motion Pictures.

As of October, for 1974, ninety six (96) local films were previewed and approved by the Board of Censors for Motion Pictures. This was only 17.84% of the total number of 538 films, while 442 foreign films or 82.16% were released.

As can be seen from Table 10, the local films comprised roughly one fifth of the total motion pictures viewed in the country in 1973. However, out of the total 738 films shown inclusive last year, six Tagalog motion pictures and five English films were included in the box office list of the Philippine Motion Pictures Producers Association. The list included the following:

#### TAGALOG

Fefita Fofonggay  
Agila at ang Araw  
Dyesebel at ang Mahiwagang Kabibe  
Nueva Vizcaya  
Pepeng Agimat  
Panic

#### ENGLISH

The Godfather  
Trinity Is Still My Name  
Slaughter  
Crazy Boys at the Games  
Man of the East

### 3.3.4. Print Media: Newspapers, Magazines, and Books

Of all the mass media, the kinds that reach people in the school, home, street, office, market, or almost any place are the print media such as newspapers, magazines, and books. Hence, they contribute greatly to the spread of a language. But do people from every part of the country really have access to these media?

#### 3.3.4.1. Newspapers

At present there are ten daily newspapers circulating in the country. Of these ten dailies, eight are circulated at a national level, while two are circulated only in Cebu. Out of the eight nationally circulated dailies, two are in Tagalog and the other six are in English. The two dailies circulating in Cebu use likewise English as medium. (See Table 11).

TABLE 11  
DAILY NEWSPAPERS CIRCULATING IN THE PHILIPPINES

Newspaper	Area of Circulation	Medium
1. Balita ng Maynila	National	Tagalog
2. Pilipino Express	National	Tagalog
3. Bulletin Today	National	English
4. Philippine Daily Express	National	English
5. Times Journal	National	English
6. United Daily Express	National	English
7. Philippine Evening Express	National	English
8. Business Day	National	English
9. Cebu Advocate	Cebu City	English
10. Cebu Daily Times	Cebu	English

Source of Data: Report from National Media Production Center

The leading dailies and their circulation in Greater Manila area and in the province as reported by the National Media Production Center are shown in the next table.

Clearly, Table 12 indicates that most of the leading dailies are widely circulated in the Greater Manila area, while only less than half of each kind penetrate the provinces. Moreover, the *Pilipino Express*, which is the only Tagalog daily paper included in the list of leading dailies, has the least readership outside the Manila area, since only 19% of its total are circulated in the provinces. Cognizant of these facts, it would be of interest to find out what other newspapers people

TABLE 12  
LEADING DAILIES AND THEIR AVERAGE DAILY CIRCULATION

Daily Newspaper	Greater Manila		Province		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Daily Express	157,239	58.59	111,353	41.37	269,163	**
2. Bulletin Today	103,474	66.44	52,225	33.54	155,707	**
3. Pilipino Express	74,881	81.00	17,568	19.00	92,458	**
4. Evening Express	50,247	82.05	10,896	17.79	61,241	**
5. Times Journal	Circulation not yet available					

\*\* Circulation of leading dailies in Greater Manila and in the province did not total to 100% due to the fact that a small number of the dailies were circulated abroad.

in the provinces read and how often these papers reach the readers. Table I in Appendix A gives the titles of publications, frequency, and medium used in the papers circulating in the provinces. It reveals that a total of 65 newspapers thrive in the provinces, as reported by the National Media Production Center. Furthermore, 54 or 83.08% of the provincial newspapers are weeklies and none except two (*Cebu Advocate* and *Cebu Daily Times*) are dailies that circulate in the Cebu area. Moreover, it can be noted that most of the papers use English as the medium, while some use their respective vernaculars together with English. The provincial newspapers that use Pilipino and English as media are the *Cordilera Herald* of Nueva Vizcaya, *Mayon Times* of Legaspi City, *Peninsula News* of Camarines Norte, and *Tribune* of Cabanatuan. The *Courier* of Pangasinan is a weekly which uses three media, namely English, Pilipino, and Pangasin, while *Dahong Palay* of Cabanatuan uses Pilipino.

#### 3.3.4.2. Magazines

Among magazines published in Manila, the leading ones are *Women's Journal*, *Woman's*, *Expressweek*, and *Sports*. Their circulation in the Greater Manila area and in the provinces is shown in Table 13.

Clearly, Table 13 indicates that all leading magazines circulating in the country use English as medium. Moreover, less than 50% of each kind circulate outside the Greater Manila area. Other magazines and journals published here are listed in Table II of Appendix A.

TABLE 13  
CIRCULATION OF LEADING MAGAZINES IN THE PHILIPPINES

Magazines	C I R C U L A T I O N				Total	
	Greater Manila		Province		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
1. Women's Journal	44,842	54.46	37,500	45.50	82,342	**
2. Woman's	41,191	63.90	23,266	36.10	64,457	100
3. Expressweek	34,547	56.41	26,249	43.43	61,241	**
4. Sports	27,248	85.35	4,677	14.65	31,925	100

Source: Data were taken from the report of National Media Production Center.

\*\* Circulation of leading magazines did not total to 100% because a small number of them were circulated abroad.

#### 3.3.4.3. Books

A total of 61 books written in Pilipino were published in 1973 as registered in the Copyright Division of the National Library. Unfortunately, the number of copies of each book was not obtained due to limited time. However, the title and author of the books are known and listed in Table III, Appendix A. In the other Philippine languages, only six full-length books were registered.

#### 3.4. RECENT PSSC SURVEY 1972

This study (Bulatao 1973) was concerned with the ways different ethnic groups perceived and reacted toward each other. Of the ethnic groups of concern in the study, one is distinguished by nationality or national origins and race (the Chinese in the Philippines), a second primarily by religion (the Filipino Muslims) and the rest by dialect, region and possibly sub-cultural themes and customs (Tagalogs, Ilocanos, Bicolanos, Waray, Cebuanos and Ilonggos). Residents of Greater Manila, Naga, Tacloban, Cebu and Davao were queried about these groups.

Systematic random sampling of households within each areal unit was performed, each area was assigned a quota of 300 interviews except Greater Manila, which was assigned 500. One adult (18 or over) was chosen from each sampled household.

#### FINDINGS OF THE STUDY:

1. For all Rs combined, more give Cebuano as the first dialect they learned than Tagalog (31% as against 27%). Tagalog and Ilocano are most prominent in Manila, though a large group (29%) first learned some other dialect(s); other dialects first learned are: Bicol and Tagalog

in Naga; Waray and Cebuano in Tacloban; Cebuano in Cebu and Cebuano, Ilonggo and Tagalog in Davao.

2. All Rs from Manila can speak Tagalog. The percentages speaking Tagalog are also high elsewhere. Cebuano by contrast is spoken by 69% in Tacloban and close to 100% in Cebu and 95% in Davao but only 8% and 3% in Manila and Naga. English is spoken by a relatively constant percentage (between 68% and 73% in each city).

3. Ninety-five percent (95%) of the Rs considered themselves to belong to the ethnic group corresponding to the language they first learned.

4. Of the 91 Rs who considered themselves to belong to a different ethnic group (called 'switchers'), half reasoned out that they did not grow up with others of the same mother tongue.

5. Regarding relationship between parent's ethnicity and dialect first learned, of those of pure parentage a relatively large 19% first learned some dialect other than that of their parents. Of those of mixed parentage more learned the mother's than the father's dialect first, but 24% first learned a third dialect (the most common alternate dialects are Cebuano and Tagalog).

6. Of 12 ethnic communities, three are identified in Manila and Davao and two elsewhere. In each ethnic community the mean number of dialects spoken is above two, with males usually having a slight edge. The Manila-Tagalog and Cebu-Cebuano know the fewest dialects, but their own dialects are of course widely known. Davao-Ilonggos, Cebu-minorities, Tacloban-Cebuano and Davao-minorities know somewhat more dialects than the other groups.

7. Tagalog and English both furnish media for inter-ethnic communication, with Tagalog having an edge except in Cebu.

8. Interesting are data on the percentage speaking each dialect by city (Manila, Naga, Tacloban, Cebu, Davao). With these figures combined, we have the following breakdown:

	Combined
Tagalog	86%
Cebuano	59%
English	72%
Waray	21%
Bicolano	20%
Ilocano	10%
Ilonggo	11%

Note that the above figures are based on 1705 respondents from five urban areas. No distinction is made between a first language and a second language. The interesting facts which emerge from the chart

(Table 2.2., Bulatao 1973.21) are:

In Naga, 95% of the respondents speak both Bicolano and Tagalog. In Tacloban, 97% speak Waray, but Tagalog edges out Cebuano by 76% to 69%. In Davao, although 95% speak Cebuano, 87% speak Tagalog - which still shows a sizable number speaking Tagalog. Undoubtedly, many are bilingual. Only in Cebu is the difference quite significant and expectedly so: 100% Cebuano speakers to 63% Tagalog speakers.

What the above figures indicate is that in non-Tagalog speaking areas, although the local vernacular predominates, it is always Tagalog which comes as a close second, again another indicator of how rapidly Tagalog is spreading.

### 3.5. CENSUS RESULTS

The increase in number of the Tagalog speakers in the country during the last 31 years has been steady as can be seen from Table 14. The average increase, being about 10% for almost every 10 years, resulted in more than half (55.2%) of the population who were able to speak Tagalog in the year 1970.

**TABLE 14**  
**PAST AND PROJECTED PERCENT OF TAGALOG**  
**SPEAKERS IN THE PHILIPPINES**

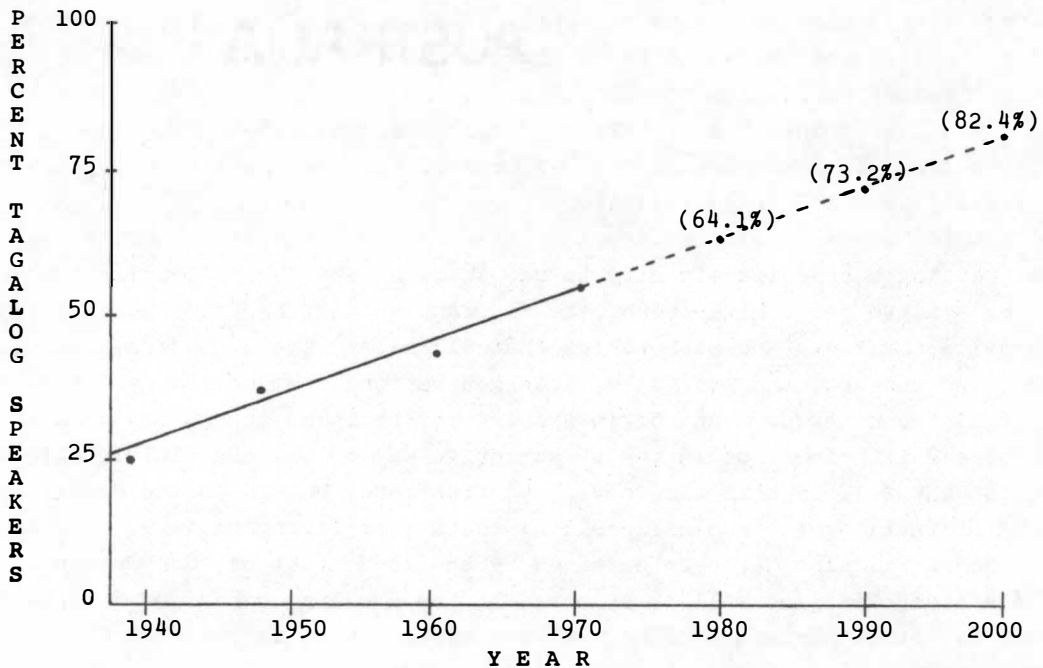
A. PAST	YEAR	PERCENT
	1939	25.4
	1948	37.1
	1960	44.4
	1970	55.2
B. PROJECTED	1980	64.1
	1990	73.2
	2000	82.4

Source of Data on % Tagalog speakers in the past years: Bureau of Census and Statistics.

Using linear regression analysis a project of the population who will be able to speak Tagalog in the future was obtained. Hence in the year 1980 it was extrapolated that 64.1% would be Tagalog speakers while in 1990 and 2000, the predicted figures are 73.2% and 82.4% respectively. (See Chart I).



CHART I  
PROJECTION OF TAGALOG SPEAKERS



#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

What I have given you here is a pastiche, admittedly, a hodge-podge of many findings which somehow I have tried to fit into a pattern. A kinder person would call it a collage, and a religiously inclined person could think of it as a mosaic.

While the data are of uneven quality, of varying purposes, of differentiated types, I have felt it worthwhile compiling such results into one paper by way of review to dramatise before you that Pilipino as one of the official languages of the Philippines is widely spread out, it is currently in a rapid state of disseminating itself, and all the prognoses and projections are that it will be disseminated even more rapidly the next few years because of its use as a medium of instruction in the school system and its extensive use in the mass media, which in turn are more extensively used as the level of education and the socio-economic level of a people increase. And the indications are, even with massive inflation, the education of the Filipino and his socio-economic level are improving.

What the pro-Pilipino sectors of our society should do is to keep

quiet and let things be - the inexorable societal laws of language dissemination will take care of spreading Filipino, Constitution or no Constitution, whether or not there are universalists or not trying to forge a new language called Filipino. For administrators in government, for the INL, the best posture to take is one of 'benign neglect', to adopt one of Moynihan's bon mots.

We do not think it will take a hundred years to spread Filipino. Given our modest extrapolations, we predict that by the year 2000, 82% of Filipinos will speak Filipino.

In the process, as the language disseminates, we will standardise by getting a creative minority to use it as a vehicle for intellectual work - as we get some to elaborate it. And it will be from these intellectualisers and elaborators that ultimately the standards will be derived and set, and hopefully, some generations from now, a descriptive linguist can set down and begin writing the Filipino spoken by the elite of the Philippines not in the prescriptive way of the pro-FILIPINO linguist who will by this time have been frustrated but in the descriptive way of the linguist who will cull his data from living reality.

Where Filipino has been selected by the Constitutional Convention delegates, Filipino will be selected by the growing numbers of Filipinos who use it in certain domains. Where Filipino will be codified by prescriptive linguists, Filipino will be codified by the elites of Philippine society and set down by descriptive linguists. Except among a few diehards, of the psychological mode of the Esperanto-enthusiasts, I doubt if Filipino will ever be elaborated; but even now and more so in the future, Filipino will be elaborated by an intellectual elite in centres of learning as well as by the more sophisticated creative artists of the mass media. Where Filipino might be accepted by a consensus in the barangays or even by a referendum sponsored by some future National Assembly, Filipino has been accepted and is being propagated by both first-language (native speakers) and mobile non-Tagalogs who have accepted the realities of Philippine life.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE DISSEMINATION OF PILIPINO:  
A FIRST STEP TOWARDS STANDARDISATION

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1  
NEWSPAPERS CIRCULATING IN THE PROVINCES

TITLE	AREA OF CIRCULATION	FREQUENCY OF CIRCULATION	MEDIUM
1. Baguio Midland Courier	Baguio City	Weekly	English
2. Banahaw Tribune	Marinduque, Quezon	Weekly	-
3. Barangay Newsweekly	Laguna	Weekly	English
4. Barasoain	Bulacan	Bi-monthly	-
5. Bayanihan Weekly News	Laguna	Weekly	-
6. Bicol Chronicle	Bicol	Weekly	English
7. Bicol Guardian	Legaspi City	Weekly	English
8. Bicol Post	Daet, Camarines Norte	Weekly	English
9. Bulucan Bulletin	Bulacan	Weekly	-
10. Cagayan Mail	Cagayan	Weekly	-
11. Cagayan Star	Cagayan	Weekly	-
12. City Newsweek	Naga City	Weekly	-
13. Cordillera Herald	Nueva Vizcaya	Weekly	English-Pilipino
14. The Courier	Pangasinan	Weekly	English, Pilipino, Pangasin
15. Dahong Palay	Cabanatuan	Weekly	Pilipino
16. Ilocos Times	La Union	Weekly	English-Ilocano
17. Lowland Herald	La Union	Weekly	English-Ilocano
18. Luzon Courier	Angeles City	Weekly	English
19. Luzon Star	Tarlac	Weekly	-
20. Mayon Times	Legaspi City	Weekly	English-Pilipino
21. Monday Post	Cabanatuan	Weekly	English
22. The Monitor	Tarlac	Weekly	English
23. Mt. Bulusan Times	Bicol	Weekly	-

TABLE I (cont.)

TITLE	AREA OF CIRCULATION	FREQUENCY OF CIRCULATION	MEDIUM
24. Naga Times	Naga City	Weekly	English
25. News Profile	Cabanatuan	Weekly	-
26. Pampanga Bulletin	Pampanga	Weekly	-
27. Pampanga Tribune	Angeles City	Fortnightly	-
28. Peninsula News	Camarines Norte	Weekly	English-Pilipino
29. People's Tribune	Lipa City	Weekly	-
30. Progress Journal	Isabela, Cagayan	Weekly	-
31. The Quezon Courier	Lucena City	Weekly	-
32. The Quezon Times	Lucean City	Weekly	English
33. Rang-Ay Times	Kalinga-Apayao	Weekly	-
34. Sierra Madre Post	Isabela	Weekly	English
35. Sunday Punch	Pangasinan	Weekly	English, Pangasinense
36. Tribune	Cabanatuan	Weekly	English-Pilipino
37. Valley Express	Isabela	Weekly	English
38. Valley Times	Isabela	Weekly	English
39. The Voice	Pampanga	Weekly	English
40. The Vizcaya Advocate	Nueva Vizcaya	Weekly	English
41. The Yantok Mindoro	Mindoro	Weekly	-
42. Zambales Labor Journal	Zambales	Weekly	-
43. The Aklan Reporter	Aklan	Weekly	English
44. Bohol Chronicle	Bohol	Weekly	English
45. Cebu Advocate	Cebu City	Daily	English
46. Cebu Daily Times	Cebu	Daily	-
47. Kapawa Digest	Bacolod City	Weekly	English
48. Misamis Weekly	Ozamiz City	Weekly	English-Visayan
49. Negros Chronicle	Negros Oriental Dumaguete City	Weekly	-
50. The People	Negros Oriental	Weekly	-
51. The Reporter	Leyte	Weekly	English-Cebuano
52. Visayan Tribune	Iloilo City	Weekly	English
53. Weekly Scope	Bacolod City	Weekly	-
54. Al-Iman	Muslims	Monthly	-
55. Basilan Times	Zamboanga	Weekly	-
56. Butuan Tribune	Butuan City	Weekly	-
57. Digos Times	Davao del Sur	Weekly	English-Pilipino, Dabewenio
58. Mindanao Cross	Cotabato	Weekly	English
59. Mindanao Mail	Davao City	Weekly	-

TABLE I (cont.)

TITLE	AREA OF CIRCULATION	FREQUENCY OF CIRCULATION	MEDIUM
60. Mindanao Mirror	Davao City	5x a week	-
61. Mindanao Observer	Dipolog City	-	English-Visayan
62. Mindana Observer	Tagum, Davao del Norter	-	English-Visayan
63. Mindanao Times	Davao City	-	English
64. Pagadian Times	Pagadian	-	-
65. Weekly Davao Guide	Davao	-	-

TABLE II

LIST OF MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS IN THE PHILIPPINES

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Accountant's Journal                 | 28. Philippine Economy and Industrial Journal   |
| 2. Agricultural and Industrial Life     | 29. Philippine Historical Review                |
| 3. Ambassador, The                      | 30. Philippine Farmer's Journal                 |
| 4. Ang Bayani                           | 31. Philippine Journal of Education             |
| 5. Ang Mamimili                         | 32. Philippine Journal of Linguistics           |
| 6. Ang Tao                              | 33. Philippine Journal of Psychology            |
| 7. Asia Research Bulletin               | 34. Philippine Journal of Public Administration |
| 8. Asian Studies                        | 35. Philippine Labor Relations Journal          |
| 9. BM Music Magazine                    | 36. Philippine Business Review                  |
| 10. Commerce Magazine                   | 37. Philippine Law Journal                      |
| 11. Decision Law Journal                | 38. Philippine Mining and Engineering Journal   |
| 12. Examiner                            | 39. Philippine School Life                      |
| 13. Focus Philippine                    | 40. Philippine Sociological Review              |
| 14. Guidelines for National Discipline  | 41. Philippine Statistician                     |
| 15. Impact                              | 42. Philippine Studies                          |
| 16. Industrial Philippines              | 43. Philippine Surveying and Mapping Journal.   |
| 17. Insight                             | 44. Philippine Tax Journal                      |
| 18. Journal, The                        | 45. Philippine Express                          |
| 19. Journal of History                  | 46. Readers Digest in Asia                      |
| 20. Journal of Philippine Librarianship | 47. Select                                      |
| 21. Junior Citizen                      | 48. Social Work                                 |
| 22. Lawyer's Journal                    | 49. Solidarity Magazine                         |
| 23. Manila News                         | 50. Sunburst                                    |
| 24. Pamana                              | 51. Sunday Punch                                |
| 25. Philippine Arts and Architecture    |   |
| 26. Philippine Digest                   |   |
| 27. Philippine Economic Journal         |   |

TABLE II (cont.)

52. Tax Quarterly	60. Agence France-Presse
53. The Children	61. Associate
54. This Week in Manila	62. Bulaklak
55. St. Louis University Research Journal	63. Hiligaynon Weekly Magazine
56. Your Health and Home	64. Newsweek
57. Woman's Home Companion	65. World Current Events
58. Bisaya	66. Style Magazine
59. Current Events Digest	67. King Features Syndicate

TABLE III

## LIST OF BOOKS IN PILIPINO 1973

TITLE	AUTHOR
1. Mga Kinang ng Isang Hiyas	Empig, Maria Lilia
2. Anak Araw	Dadivas, Pablito Ordeña
3. Ang Pamahalaang Pilipino	Gagelonia, Pedro and Gagelonia, Leticia G.
4. Ang Makata sa Panahon ng Makina	Almario, Virgilio S.
5. Mga Pagbasa sa Misang Panglinggo - Kuwaresma, Mahal na Araw, Paskuwa	Excelso Garcia, O.P.
6. Alamat sa Silangan	Rosas, Manuel P.
7. Mga Pagbasa sa Misang Panglinggo - mga Araw ng Linggo ng Taon	Excelso Garcia, O.P.
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## DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL LANGUAGES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE

Astuti Hendrato-Darmosugito

### 1. BAHASA INDONESIA AS NATIONAL LANGUAGE

On October 28, 1928, when the Indonesian Youth Congress in Jakarta chose the BAHASA MELAYU to become the BAHASA KESATUAN for the entire Indonesian people, no debates or differences were heard. This language continued to develop, and is now known as the BAHASA INDONESIA, enjoying the position of a National Language; a language which is accepted and adopted by every Indonesian people as a common language. This language really constitutes a uniting factor for Indonesia, consisting of so many millions of people with various kinds of culture.

The problem of a National Language concerns the superstructural life of tens of Indonesian ethnic groups. Eversince the birth of this BAHASA KESATUAN, there have been active cultural and social contacts between the different regional languages and the BAHASA INDONESIA. The spirit of the BAHASA INDONESIA become integrated with those of the regional languages and so there had been mutual interest and mutual influence. Words and structures of the regional languages were gradually assimilated into the BAHASA INDONESIA. This is a process which caused the regional spirit to come close to the national spirit.

The BAHASA INDONESIA itself brought with it open norms which made its assimilation of forms from regional language as rather smooth. The forms of new words which later evolved proved to have survived, as they have been accepted by the society.

This openness also enabled it to assimilate actively elements from foreign languages. It is not difficult to point out the influence of

Arabic for instance, although this influence is essentially limited to the entrance of loan-words only. The influence of Dutch or of English resulted in a very intensive assimilation.

In order that the BAHASA INDONESIA does not grow irregularly, an order must be created to enable the development of the language towards the right direction. The Indonesian Government is taking care of this properly.

As proved by its further development, the BAHASA INDONESIA was not faced with many difficulties in its development as a science language. The 'Lembaga Bahasa Nasional' has always done its part to facilitate and smoothen its growth as a colloquial language and as a common language for daily use.

It has been the policy of the Indonesian Government, however, to see to it that the development of the NATIONAL LANGUAGE does not obstruct the growth of the different regional languages, and vice versa.

The BAHASA INDONESIA is flourishing very well as a National Language, but it does not push aside the regional languages, numbering to many hundreds within the Indonesian territory.

The regional languages have special functions, namely as sources of culture and in the enrichment of the NATIONAL LANGUAGE. The facts have also proved that up to now the regional languages are giving a lot of contribution and influence in the cultivation and development of the NATIONAL LANGUAGE. Therefore, it has also been considered necessary to maintain its development.

Every regional language, as a source, is also required to maintain its purity. Considering the vastness of the Indonesian territory, however it would be next to impossible to purify the BAHASA INDONESIA, more so to achieve a Standard Indonesian Languages.<sup>1</sup>

The growth of the BAHASA INDONESIA in one region is different from that in another region, as the influence of the respective regional languages are different. This is clearly evident in the spoken language, for instance:

In North Sumatra: - the word *kemarin yesterday* and the word *besok tomorrow* are not limited to 24 hours only. *Kemarin* also applies for several days before today, while *besok* also applies to several days after today.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>What has been achieved now is an Official Language, as seen in the written language, meeting all the prevailing grammatical rules.

<sup>2</sup>Javanese *bésuk* means *some time in the future*.

- In Tapanuli: - The word *si* is an address of honour; different from *si* in the BAHASA INDONESIA which is in general rather crude.
- *sekali lagi* means *another time*. Indonesian *sekali lagi* means *once more*.

## 2. DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGIONAL LANGUAGES

The efforts to develop the regional languages can be based on two considerations:

- a. they have become a source for the enrichment of the NATIONAL LANGUAGE;
- b. they have become a regional cultural support, and as such they will undoubtedly contribute substantially to the development of the NATIONAL CULTURE.

While the BAHASA INDONESIA is being influenced by the regional languages, the regional languages, on the other hand, cannot also escape the influence of the BAHASA INDONESIA.

Examples (taken from the Javanese language):

1. Javanese : Mahargya dinten ambal warsa.  
Indonesian : Merayakan hari ulang tahun.  
The Javanese word for ulang tahun is *tanggap warsa*.
2. Javanese : Gandhèng kaliyan indhaking reregèn.  
Indonesian : Berhubung dengan naiknya harga-harga.  
The Javanese expression is: *Rèhning reregèn mindhak*.
3. Javanese : Telu lan papat padha karo pitu.  
Indonesian : Tiga dan empat sama dengan tujuh.  
Correct Javanese: Telu lan papat iku pitu.
4. Javanese : Kula tengga ngantos jam gangsal.  
Indonesian : Saya tunggu sampai jam lima.  
Correct Javanese: Kula entos ngantos jam gangsal.  
(*tengga* is here the krama form of *tunggu*.)

A situation like this often makes regional enthusiasts feel that their regional language is suffering a setback. Many words have been borrowed, although such words are available in the regional languages concerned.

But as long as a language is still in use, it will always undergo changes. The influences of other languages, by they indigenous or foreign, cannot be avoided. Sometimes it happens that people just have to accept a form although it is grammatically wrong, considering it merely as a common thing, e.g.: Para pamiyarsa *listeners* is actually wrong. It should be Para miyarsa. But it is now being used by the radio-announcers.

The people do nothing about it, though actually it can still be corrected (without any intention of becoming a 'purist').

In its position as a supporter of regional culture, a regional language should be studied and continuously preserved, especially if there is a great number of users of such a regional language, and if the language itself has old literary works of high cultural value. To reach a mental satisfaction and maintain the love for one's culture, the revival of regional literary and cultural endeavours should be intensified.

To give a clearer picture, some explanations on the efforts in the development of the Javanese language will be given here as an example. Among the so many regional languages, Javanese is the most widely used, and the world of science has also recognised Javanese as having the oldest literary documents.

### 3. PRESERVATION OF THE JAVANESE LANGUAGE

The revival of interest to study Javanese dates back to 1827 when members of the Christian missionary felt it necessary to be able to speak Javanese for religious propagation. This effort was intensified in connection with the 'Landrente'-system and then the 'Cultuurstelsel'-system in 1831.

Later the Dutch government considered it necessary to establish the 'Instituut voor de Javaansche Taal' (Institute for the Javanese Language) in 1832, which took care of matters relating to the study of Javanese. Since then many books for learning Javanese have been published, on grammar as well as on its literature, written by foreigners as well as by the indigenous people.

The main considerations for learning Javanese are as follows:

- a. for carrying out a certain task (e.g. religious propagation);
- b. for conducting other scientific research (e.g. historical, political, etc.);
- c. for the revival and preservation of Javanese culture, which in turn may contribute to the development of the National Culture.

The means used in this effort is EDUCATION, both at home and in educational institutions.

#### 4. ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF JAVANESE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

##### 4.1. THE TEACHING OF JAVANESE IN SCHOOL

In 1936 the 'Java Instituut' held its congress at Sana Budaya, Togyakarta, on the possibilities of teaching Javanese in schools and using it at meetings. The Javanese language had proved viable as a separate subject in the schools, from the elementary up to the university as there were sufficient teaching materials available for all levels.

This is being carried out up to now, although there have been set-backs at certain times. For the teaching of Javanese at the faculties of letters in Indonesia, the curriculum has already been drawn up, with its pattern applicable to the teaching of Balinese and Sundanese.<sup>1</sup>

In Central and East Java, Javanese is used as a medium of instruction in the elementary schools.

##### 4.2. SPELLING SYSTEM OF JAVANESE WITH LATIN CHARACTERS

Many Javanese books have been published, with Javanese as well as with Latin characters. No difficulties have been met in the use of Javanese characters because the rules and principles remained unchanged. The case was not the same, however, with the use of Latin characters.

Since the inauguration of the use of the 'Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan' (the Indonesian Improved Spelling System), with deep awareness the lovers of Javanese have considered it necessary to adjust the spelling of Javanese with the new system. This was done at a workshop on Javanese spelling system, held in Yogyakarta (January 17-19, 1973). Without too many difficulties, guidelines were finally drawn up for the writing of Javanese with Latin characters.

##### 4.3. TRANSLITERATION

There are still many difficulties in transliteration, as there is no concrete transliteration system yet. As for the Javanese transliteration, the spelling system which has been adjusted to the 'Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan' still does not meet its needs, particularly when dealing with old documents which, in general, still contain many Old Javanese and Sanskrit words.

The present transliteration being practiced by some philologists are worse than those practiced before the spelling of the BAHASA INDONESIA has been improved. This really calls for attention.

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<sup>1</sup>Result of the Seminar on the teaching of Regional Languages, held in Yogyakarta, November 1-5, 1973.

Many regional languages have characters of their own. These alphabets prevailing in Indonesia might have come from ancient alphabets which were of the same group. Theoretically it would be easier to create a uniform transliteration system. But the real facts have to be studied further.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.4. TRANSLATION

There have been many translations within the framework of revival of the regional culture, so that the contents may also be enjoyed by other ethnic groups in other regions. This is a way to create and promote mutual inter regional cultural understanding. But there are many difficulties to be encountered in these efforts.

The usual difficulties in translation among other things are caused by the following:

- a. The translator does not know the BAHASA INDONESIA very well;
- b. The translator does not know enough of the material to be translated;
- c. The Indonesian vocabulary is indeed not sufficient yet.

In translations from Javanese into any other language we should not forget that the elements *bangsa nation*, *basa language* and *rasa emotion, feeling*, in Javanese have become integrated in a whole. One is not to be separated from the other. This is clearly evidenced from the many idiomatic expressions of which there is often no exact Indonesian translation. For instance:

##### a. Purwakanthi

The Javanese in their daily conversation very often use this expression, as it describes his feeling more clearly.

Purwakanthi is a kind of alliteration, and there are two kinds of Purwakanthi, namely:

- Purwakanthi guru swara, e.g.
  - \* anak molah, bapa kepradhah.
  - \* watu-watu bunderer, diinciki mingar-mingerer  
(in a children's ditty).
- Purwakanthi guru sastra, e.g.
  - \* sepi sepa lir sepah samun.

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<sup>1</sup>In order to obtain a satisfactory transliteration system which can be applied consistently, the Faculty of Letters of the University of Indonesia will soon hold a workshop, and will stress its discussion on: How to apply the Improved Spelling System for the Javanese transliterations, especially if the documents or manuscripts are in the form of poetry (tembang).



In the BAHASA INDONESIA this may be replaced with the way people use quatrains, as is still used in certain ceremonies. The speaker speaks with Pantun Melayu.

Popular poetry resembling the well-known pantun quatrain may have been current in the North East Coast districts of Java for a considerable time. In Javanese the quatrains were called:

b. Parikan

This is almost the same as Purwakanthi. Such a quatrain is still used by the players of the 'Lenong Performance' in Jakarta.<sup>1</sup>

The Javanese often use Parikan also in their daily conversation, e.g.:

- \* Suwe ora jamu, jamu pisan godhong tela,  
Suwe ora ketemu, ketemu pisan gawe gela.
- \* Pèyèk ya pèyèk, ning aja diremet-remet,  
Ngenyèk ya ngenyèk, ning aja banget-banget.

c. Wangsalan

Wangsalan is a kind of literary charade or an enigma, which has occupied an important place in popular poetry as well as in poems of a more sophisticated kind, even in religious mystic songs.

The word wangsalan may be derived from the word wangsul, so that wangsalan may be meant as wangsulan *answer*. There is indeed a problem of reply to the expression mentioned earlier.

A circulocutory expression, an enigma, refers to a single word (may be a name of a flower, a kind of fruit or tree), and this word, by assonance or synonymity, suggests another word, which is the solution.

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<sup>1</sup> Examples quoted from a text of a 'lenong-performance' in Jakarta, in possession of Mr. Muha-jir (lecturer at the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, Jakarta).

- Bodong : Jangan suka ngisap rokok cerutu,  
Aer panas, panasnya bukan kepalang.  
Sobat, kalau bercakap jangan begitu,  
Bikin panas hati orang.
- Ronda : (O, saudara jawab begitu rupanya yah!  
Ha, ha, ha, ha)  
Anak bekicot bertanduk mpat,  
Naik kuda enam kakinya.  
Kalau ngebacot jangan semauanya,  
Rampok si Ronda ini orangnya.
- Bodong : Berapa banyak daun bambu  
Ikan secicil melik berkawan.  
Berapa banyak lu punya lagu  
Mati mendelik masih gua lawan.
- Ronda : Lu kenal gua tetamu nyang kaga diundang  
Biar lu jago, gua kaga pandang.  
Biar ilmu lu penuh segudang  
Pasti ndakom, kalo gua tendang.

These pantun quatrains can be heard during the 'lenong-performance'.

For instance:

In conversations: Njanur gunung (=arèn) temen mrene.

Kadingarèn temen mrene.

Apa lagi mader bungkok? (urang)

Apa lagi ngurang-ngurangi?

In ditties: Jenang sela (apu), wader kalèn (sepat) sesondhieran,  
Apuranta yen wonten lepat kawula.

Roning kamal (sinom), putrane pandhita Durna (Aswatama),  
Mumpung anom, nulada laku utama.

Nineteenth century court poets took pleasure in inventing great numbers of intricate wangsalans, using them currently in poems, which became so incomprehensible for outsiders unaquainted with the solutions. Finding solutions without having a clue is almost impossible.

In poems consisting of cantos in different metres it became customary to indicate the name of the metre of the next canto by means of an enigmatic expression of a wangsalan, inserted in the last line of the preceding canto. For instance:

gandheng asta = kanthèn, used as a clue indicating the metre KINANTHI.

Purwaning reh sarkara (=gula) winangsit. sarkara is used as a clue indicating the metre DHANDHANGGULA.

Wangsalan is then a clue for the singer (in Javanese called sasmita), how to start the new canto.<sup>1</sup>

In the BAHASA INDONESIA there is still no replacement for such an expression. Even one that sounds similar has not been found yet. A further study would therefore be useful.

#### d. Candrasangkala

In Javanese literature, both pre-Islamic and Moslim, years were seldom given in numerals. It was almost a standing rule to indicate years by means of chronograms, words having numeral connotations, which were linked up instead of numbers. It is proved that it is easier to remember a series of words, indicating a year, than a number.

If a Candrasangkala is met in a translation, it will be difficult to translate it, possibly giving only the year referred to.

Those are some of the difficulties to be encountered in the effort to translate Javanese manuscripts into the BAHASA INDONESIA, in order to introduce them to non-Javanese readers. For this reason a trans-

<sup>1</sup>Such a sasmita given by means of a wangsalan is also used by the dalang *performer* during wayang-performances, as a clue for the gamelan-players, which gending *music* they have to play next.

lation of a Javanese document or story is sometimes not lively, as it lacks the 'feeling' or 'emotion' contained in the original.

Great troubles have been met very often indeed in the efforts to grasp and to excavate literary and cultural products of the regions for the consumption of the Indonesian readers, through the process of translations.

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## THE STANDARDISATION OF SCIENCE TERMS IN PILIPINO

Fe T. Otanes

One of the most urgent needs in Pilipino today is the development of terminology for scientific and technical use. The problem is not so much that of making word lists - this can be done by a group of specialists in each particular subject matter area who are also competent in Pilipino or in the ethnic language which is its basis, namely, Tagalog. The real question faced by any group of language planners as far as the development of terms is concerned is: Having proposed a set of terminology, will this set be acceptable to the intended users? Since it may be reasonably assumed that lack of acceptability will be a serious bar to usage of the terms and therefore also a bar to standardisation of these terms, it is important to determine as much as possible what characteristics a set of terms should have in order for them to be acceptable to the users.

When the Language Study Center of the Philippine Normal College assumed the task early in 1971 of translating the science teaching materials for elementary schools produced by the Science Education Center of the University of the Philippines, the problem of ensuring acceptability of technical terms became an acute one for the translation group. Several questions presented themselves:

1. What orthography should be used?

In 1971 and in the years immediately preceding, the question of Pilipino orthography was a lively issue, particularly in the media. The twenty-letter alphabet of Pilipino, consisting of five vowel symbols and 15 consonant symbols, which was prescribed for use in the government and the schools, was criticised as being inadequate, and an inclusion of additional letter symbols from the English and Spanish alphabets was seriously advocated. Among these letters were

f, v, c, x, z, and ñ - letters which have always been used in spelling personal and family names and which have always been allowed in Pilipino for such categories - apparently in tacit recognition of the value and integrity of a person's name as part of his personal identity. Thus, for example, while common words and certain proper nouns such as names of months and days were spelled in the 20-letter alphabet (henceforth to be referred to as the abakada, its Pilipino term), family names like Roxas, Rojas, Gonzales, Cortes, Cortez, and first names like Felicidad and Virginia continued to be written in Pilipino without having to be italicised or marked in any way as being unusual. The change advocated was to extend the use of the foreign letters to all words in the language, including proper names.

The question for the Language Study Center was, should the clamor for change be recognised. To do so would in fact simplify the task of expressing scientific concepts in Pilipino, since words could be borrowed from Spanish and English without any change. Pilipino, for example, lacks a terminological distinction between '*energy*' and '*force*'; both are indistinguishably expressed by *lakas* or *pwersa*, the latter being a Spanish borrowing in colloquial use, as in *pwersahin* *apply force*, *mapwersa* *strong*, and *walang pwersa* *weak*. If the language were freed from the required adherence to the abakada there would be several alternative terms to choose from: '*energy*' could be expressed by *energy* or *energia*, and '*force*' could continue to be expressed by *lakas* or *pwersa* or even by *fuerza* or *force*.

2. The second question was: If word borrowing was to be resorted to in the absence of Tagalog terms for a particular concept, which language should be the source? Here the consideration of consistency in terminology came in. Both Spanish and English are likely sources of readily acceptable terms - the former because of long contact by Filipinos with the language in the more than four centuries of Spanish occupation, and the latter because of a shorter period of contact but a more extensive and intensive one through its use as medium of instruction and as an official language of government, not to mention the contribution of the media in its propagation. However, if no decision were to be made on which language source to use, there would be a multiplication of doublets and larger sets of alternative terms, examples being those already given above. Since, unlike literary production where variety through the use of synonymous terms and expressions is desirable, scientific writing demands consistency of terms for the sake of clarity, some principle of selection from alternatives had to be established.



The question of word borrowing was compounded by another issue - that of expanding the language base of Pilipino to include not only Tagalog as had been the practice through official sanction but the other indigenous Philippine languages as well. If this additional source of terms was to be used, what method of selection should be adopted? It goes without saying that any arbitrary selection of a term from one language or speech variety is likely to draw objections from speakers of the sixty-nine or more other Philippine languages, assuming that these speakers were also interested in having their mother tongues contribute to the form of the national language.

3. The third question was: Was the coining of terms desirable from the point of view of acceptability? The issue of orthography and problems of language choice for word borrowings could be skirted by using words or parts of words of Tagalog to make up new words, without going beyond the twenty-letter *abakada*.

In this paper, I would like to report on two studies that throw some light on these questions. The first study, which served as the pilot investigation for the second one, was conducted by faculty members of the Language Study Center in preparation for the translation project referred to earlier. This study will be referred to as the *Rivero and Labigan study*, was conducted by two graduate students as their joint thesis research project, under the guidance of some of the faculty members involved in the first study.

#### 1. THE LSC STUDY, 1971

Initially, a nation-wide study was considered but budget and time limitations forced the investigation in the LSC study to trim down the research considerably. It was finally decided to conduct only a pilot study involving only educators as subjects, based on the consideration that this group would be the first to use the materials translated by the Center, and that their opinions would be valuable as far as acceptance of the material would be concerned. In the random sampling, a rural-urban dimension was used, along with a Tagalog-non-Tagalog dimension, with an equal numbers of subjects from public and private schools.

The respondents were divided as follows:

## A. Administrators and Teachers in Elementary Schools:

		URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
TAGALOG	PUBLIC	10 adm.	10 adm.	
		10 tch.	10 tch.	40
	PRIVATE	10 adm.	10 adm.	
		10 tch.	10 tch.	40
NON-TAGALOG	PUBLIC	10 adm.	10 adm.	
		10 tch.	10 tch.	40
	PRIVATE	10 adm.	10 adm.	
		10 tch.	10 tch.	40
		10	80	160

## B. Faculty of Teacher-Training Institutions in the Greater Manila Area, by Specialisation:

	PILIPINO	SCIENCE	EDUCATION	TOTAL
PUBLIC	10	10	10	30
PRIVATE	10	10	10	<u>30</u>
				60

## C. Senior Students in Education (BSEED: Manila Area)

PUBLIC	10	
PRIVATE	<u>10</u>	
	20	Total no. of subjects = 240

Two instruments were used. The first was a questionnaire of twenty English sentences that were typical of those to be found in elementary science texts, each English sentence being provided with a Tagalog translation. A term, like liquid or gravity was underlined in the English sentence and a slot was left vacant in the Tagalog translation for the equivalent of the underlined English term. The respondent was asked to choose from a multiple-choice type of possible translations representing the following alternatives:

1. Spanish term with no re-spelling in the abakada
2. Spanish term with re-spelling
3. English term with no re-spelling
4. English term with re-spelling
5. Terms of indigenous Philippine origin, which were taken from the list of scientific terminology prepared by the LUPON SA AGHAM; these terms could have any of the following sources: a) any of

the native Philippine languages, b) coined, c) archaic or obsolete Tagalog terms, d) current Tagalog terms.

The use of sentences as context was intended to prevent complications arising from ambiguity or other factors extraneous to the questions of orthography or word origin.

The second instrument was a continuous passage consisting of four short paragraphs loaded with terms that lent themselves to the same types of variations discussed above. Six versions of these passages were presented to the respondents: these consisted of an English version, the Lupon sa Agham version representing the indigenous terms, re-spelled in one version and retaining original spellings in the other versions. These versions were randomly collated, and were labelled with letters of the alphabet not contained in the abakada. The respondents were simply instructed to select the version they most preferred, outside of the English version which was to serve only as reference.

One example of a type of term contained in the continuous passage was the numeral. The use of numerals is one of the most inconsistent areas of usage in colloquial Tagalog or Pilipino today. Thus, in business transactions, low prices of goods are usually quoted in Tagalog, as in *limang piso five pesos*, *sampung piso ten pesos*, but when fractions of the peso are involved, Spanish-derived expressions are the rule, thus: *dos-singkuwenta two pesos and fifty centavos*, *trenta sentimos thirty centavos*. However, for large figures, English forms predominate. Bargaining for the purchase of a house or a car, for example, would ordinarily involve the use of English numerals, as in *Fourteen thousand three hundred nga ba ang down? It is true the down payment is ₱14,300.00?* One gives one's telephone number in English, never in Spanish or Tagalog, but one can state dates on the calendar using English, or Tagalog numerals.

One of the sentences in the second instrument of the survey is the following:

"The child, between the age of seven and thirteen or fourteen, is already capable of receiving fundamental knowledge from the five principal fields of science: mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and social science." In various Pilipino versions, Tagalog syntax was used with only minor variations from one version to another dictated by the concern for grammaticality. The results of the LSC study are presented in the following lists: (see appendix)

1. Most frequently selected items in the multiple-choice questionnaire.
2. Least frequently selected items in the multiple-choice questionnaire.

3. Ranking of translated versions in the order of choice.

The following conclusions may be derived from the data of the LSC questionnaire:

1. There was no support for a reform of the alphabet in the direction of inclusion of letter symbols outside the *abakada* for spelling common words.

2. Borrowing of unfamiliar words from other Philippine languages had very little acceptance.

3. Borrowing of terms from Spanish and English was acceptable provided these were re-spelled in the *abakada*, but Spanish was greatly preferred to English as the source language.

4. Coining was acceptable provided the word constituents gave some indication of the meaning of a word, as in *parihaba* (*paris equal; haba length*). It appeared, however, that borrowing from Spanish or English was much preferred to coining.

It may be inferred from the above findings that the school version of Pilipino had received considerable acceptance, at least among the educators who constituted the subjects of the study. This is confirmed by the overwhelming choice of Version X (see list three), which most closely resembled the variety of Pilipino used in textbooks.

On the basis of the above findings, the translation team of the Language Study Center decided to go ahead and produce Pilipino versions of the UP Science teaching materials without attempting any radical reform either in orthography or in terminology. The following order of preference was adopted: 1) Borrowing from Spanish, with re-spelling; 2) Borrowing from English, with re-spelling; 3) Coining. These steps were to be taken only when no Tagalog terms (i.e., native tagalog words, and assimilated loans) could be found to express a particular concept. Borrowing of unfamiliar words from other languages was avoided.

The translated versions were put through two trials. They were used for one year in the PNC Laboratory School, and weekly conferences were held with the teachers in the trial classes to get the feedback. The trial teachers actually became members of the translation team during this year, when revisions of the draft manuscripts were made. The rewritten versions were then submitted to field trials in selected schools of the Bureau of Public Schools, in both rural and urban areas, as well as in the PNC Laboratory School itself and in the Cadiz Branch of the Philippine Normal College. In summary, it may be said that the try-out teachers gave no serious objections to the terminology used.

The PNC translation project is still going on and trials of translations for succeeding grades will continue in the PNC Laboratory School

and the Cadiz Branch. The field trials in the public schools, however, have stopped as of this year, since in accordance with the new bilingual education policy, these schools will have to use English for science and mathematics subjects.

## 2. THE RIVERO AND LABIGAN STUDY, 1974

This study, titled '*Isang Pag-aaral sa Istandardisasyon ng mga Katawangan Pang-agham sa Elementarya*', was conducted in 1972-73 in Bulacan, a Tagalog province, and Negros Occidental a non-Tagalog province and presented in 1974 as a M.A. thesis in the Philippine Normal College. The six hundred subjects were equally divided between the two areas and were representative of the following groups: administrators, teachers of science, teachers of Pilipino, non-educators consisting of lawyers, doctors, engineers, certified public accountants, dentists, postmen, employees, dressmakers, sales clerks, janitors, and elementary school pupils in the fifth and sixth grades. A multiple-choice questionnaire of 100 items was used in this study, with the same options for borrowing, re-spelling, and word coining offered in the ISC study, but differing in certain respects, namely: no Tagalog translation was given of the stimulus English sentence containing the underlined term, and an option was offered for the respondent to give his own translation of the term. Thus, the last choice in each item was a blank to be filled in by the respondent if he so wished. All the 20 items in the LSC study were among the items in the second study.

The investigators report that their findings confirm those of the LSC study in that with the exception of one word, all the terms that got the highest rankings in the LSC study also got the highest rankings in the Rivero and Labigan study. The exception was the term for gravity, which yielded the term *grabiti* in the LSC study, while both the Tagalog and non-Tagalog groups of respondents chose the term *grabidad* in the second study. In view of the greater number and variety of respondents in the second study, the term *grabidad* must be given greater weight as being a more acceptable term if the users were not to be confined to educators. As in the case of the LSC study, none of the most frequently selected terms was spelled outside the *abakada*. Thus, the prescribed spelling norms have gained a firm foothold in Pilipino.

The findings in these two studies appear to contradict the present steps being taken by the Institute of National Language to liberalise the rules of Pilipino as far as orthography and word borrowing are

concerned. It will be remembered, however, that the subjects in these studies represent only a relatively small segment of the population, and only a few language areas. Besides, national language policy is dictated by many other factors besides simple acceptance or non-acceptance of a set of terms. If further research shows that the findings in these two studies are echoed by a majority of the Philippine population, then it may be concluded that any reform in the orthography will meet with at least some resistance, and that intensive re-orientation will have to be conducted in order for the new orthography to be accepted.

One source of scientific terms that has not been sufficiently exploited in Pilipino is the affixation system. Another is the nominal-formation system of the language. Tagalog has a number of affixes that may have much utility in the development of abstract terms. Among these are the following affixes; the lists from the two studies described above yield examples of terms derived by affixation:

1. -an 'locative' as in *paningasan burner*.
2. -in 'object nominal' as in *palagayin thing supposed*, i.e. *hypothesis*.
3. ka...-an 'state/quality' as in *kalagayan state*.
4. pa- 'causative' as in *painugan axis*.
5. pag- 'nominal of verb' as in *pagkinig act of trembling*, i.e. *vibration*.

APPENDIX

LIST ONE

MOST FREQUENTLY SELECTED ITEMS IN THE MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONNAIRE

(NOTE: Single-starred items represent choice by a majority of the respondents (N=240); double-starred items represent choice by at least seventy per cent.)

1. \*\*likido *liquid*
2. \*parihaba *rectangle*
3. solido *solid*
4. \*grabiti *gravity*
5. \*\*bolyum *volume*
6. \*\*katangian *characteristic*
7. \*\*imbudo *funnel*
8. \*\*lakas *energy*
9. \*\*pormula *formula*
10. \*astronomya *astronomy*
11. \*parisukat *square*
12. layo *distance*
13. \*mikroskopyo *microscope*
14. \*\*siyentipiko *scientist*
15. elektrisidad *electricity*
16. \*kulisap *insect*
17. \*luntian *green*
18. pagsubok *experiment*
19. \*tatsulok *triangle*
20. tala *data*

LIST TWO  
LEAST FREQUENTLY SELECTED ITEMS IN THE MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONNAIRE

(NOTE: Starred items represent choice by less than one per cent of the respondents.)

1. \*danum *liquid*
2. rectangle *rectangle*
3. dagsin *energy*
4. siks in *solid*
5. \*volumen *volume*
6. \*caracteristica *characteristic*
7. funnel *funnel*
8. \*energia *energy*
9. pormyula *formula*
10. astronomia *astronomy*
11. cuadrado *square*
12. \*distans *distance*
13. microscopio *microscope*
14. \*cientifico *scientist*
15. electricidad *electricity*
16. \*insek *insect*
17. \*grin *green*
18. tilaw *experiment*
19. triangle *triangle*
20. \*malak *data*



LIST THREE

RESPONSES TO SIX VERSIONS OF THE SCIENTIFIC PASSAGE

1. Version X, using Pilipino as currently used in schools  
(20-letter abakada; borrowing from Spanish preferred  
to borrowing from English; absence of coined words)  
----- 191 out of 240 subjects
2. Version C (heavily loaded with coined terminology  
and words from other Philippine languages whose  
meanings are not familiar to Tagalogs)  
----- 20 out of 240 subjects
3. Version F (heavily loaded with Spanish terms  
re-spelled in the abakada  
----- 14 out of 240 subjects
4. Version Z (heavily loaded with English terms  
in the original spelling)  
----- 12 out of 240 subjects
5. Version V (heavily loaded with Spanish terms in  
the original spelling)  
----- 7 out of 240 subjects
6. Version Q (heavily loaded with English terms  
re-spelled in the abakada)  
----- 5 out of 240 subjects

Total number of subjects: 240

LIST FOUR

RIVERO AND LABIGAN STUDY: MOST FREQUENTLY SELECTED ITEMS

(NOTE: Single-starred items represent a majority; double-starred items represent choice by at least 70 per cent of the respondents.)

- |                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. biker beaker             | 26. gawgaw starch             |
| 2. lawak area               | 27. paningasan burner         |
| 3. talasukatan scale        | 28. repleksyon reflection     |
| 4. anggulo angle            | 29. *periskopyo periscope     |
| 5. *atomo atom              | 30. antas degree              |
| 6. aksis axis               | 31. *lamad membrane           |
| 7. *solusyon solution       | 32. kondensasyon condensation |
| 8. ipitan clamp             | 33. kuwerdas spring           |
| 9. kalagayan state          | 34. *termometro thermometer   |
| 10. sangkap component       | 35. may gulugod vertebrate    |
| 11. espora spore            | 36. *temperatura temperature  |
| 12. silinder cylinder       | 37. *endospermo endosperm     |
| 13. kasiksikan density      | 38. *kloropil chlorophyll     |
| 14. bagay matter            | 39. pagtubo germination       |
| 15. latak sediment          | 40. *mikrobyo microbe         |
| 16. testyub test tube       | 41. bayolodyist biologist     |
| 17. guhit-tagpuan horizon   | 42. sapatilya washer          |
| 18. kahalumigmigan humidity | 43. lupang tumana loam        |
| 19. kayarian structure      | 44. *reaksyon reaction        |
| 20. palawit pendulum        | 45. pagsingaw evaporation     |
| 21. *mineral mineral        | 46. similya embryo            |
| 22. panipit forceps         | 47. pagmamasid observation    |
| 23. pagkinig vibration      | 48. erosyon erosion           |
| 24. molekylul molecule      | 49. dayagram diagram          |
| 25. elemento element        | 50. nukleyo nucleus           |

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 51. **likido <i>liquid</i>           | 76. eksperimento <i>experiment</i>      |
| 52. *asido <i>acid</i>               | 77. pamukaw <i>stimulus</i>             |
| 53. binhing dahon <i>cotyledon</i>   | 78. sirkwit <i>circuit</i>              |
| 54. *pormula <i>formula</i>          | 79. *katumbas <i>equivalent</i>         |
| 55. halimbawa <i>specimen</i>        | 80. koryente <i>electricity</i>         |
| 56. luwang-bilog <i>diameter</i>     | 81. *tatsulok <i>triangle</i>           |
| 57. pagdaloy <i>circulation</i>      | 82. priksyon <i>friction</i>            |
| 58. sustansya <i>substance</i>       | 83. istomata <i>stomata</i>             |
| 59. *imbudo <i>funnel</i>            | 84. tala <i>data</i>                    |
| 60. *lakas <i>energy</i>             | 85. *agham <i>science</i>               |
| 61. kimpal <i>mass</i>               | 86. *pagtunaw <i>digestion</i>          |
| 62. asero <i>steel</i>               | 87. *kometa <i>comet</i>                |
| 63. *siyentipiko <i>scientist</i>    | 88. solido <i>solid</i>                 |
| 64. *kulisap <i>insect</i>           | 89. hinuha <i>hypothesis</i>            |
| 65. *parihaba <i>rectangle</i>       | 90. siklo <i>cycle</i>                  |
| 66. grabidad <i>gravity</i>          | 91. kayumanggi <i>brown</i>             |
| 67. *katangian <i>characteristic</i> | 92. *lakas <i>force</i>                 |
| 68. astronomya <i>astronomy</i>      | 93. salat <i>texture</i>                |
| 69. *bolyum <i>volume</i>            | 94. pinaghalo <i>mixture</i>            |
| 70. luntian <i>green</i>             | 95. himpapawid <i>atmosphere</i>        |
| 71. *teleskopyo <i>telescope</i>     | 96. direksyon <i>direction</i>          |
| 72. *parisukat <i>square</i>         | 97. *lenteng pangkamay <i>hand lens</i> |
| 73. layo <i>distance</i>             | 98. pagpaparami <i>reproduction</i>     |
| 74. *mikroskopyo <i>microscope</i>   | 99. balani <i>magnet</i>                |
| 75. *planeta <i>planet</i>           | 100. hayupan <i>zoo</i>                 |



## STANDARDISATION OF HINDI AND BENGALI

Sisir Kumar Das

1. The problems of language standardisation in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural situation, as it is in India, are extremely complex and cannot be described or solved within a rigid linguistic framework. Standardisation is not just a method of prescribing certain patterns of usages, or a choice of a particular system of writing or spelling made under certain objective criteria. It depends more on the acceptance of those prescriptions or choices by the users of a given language.

In a multi-dialect situation some dialects gain greater prestige than others not due to their linguistic superiority over other dialects but due to various social, religious and economic factors (Bloomfield 1933, p.48-52). Standardisation, however, is a conscious process. It is an attempt to control a language and to use it in a way desired by the elite or by the people at large. The earliest, and in many ways the finest, example of language standardisation in India was that of Sanskrit by Panini around 4th Century B.C. It fulfilled all the functions of a standard language which are considered important by modern scholars (Garvin 1959).<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit was standardised with a view to achieving a neat structural pattern and a fixed model for all time. Though it was a marvellous linguistic feat, nonetheless it was a simpler task compared to the problems of standardisation in modern Indian languages. Sanskrit was the language of the elite, and was spoken - many scholars doubt whether it was ever spoken by any one - by a few. Scholars could afford to ignore the various problems of mass communication which

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<sup>1</sup>Paul L. Garvin talks about four functions of a standard language: the unifying, the separatist, prestige and frame of reference. All of them, however, are inter-dependent and to some extent mutually exclusive.

was made through the Prakrits, the languages of the people. Moreover it was the prestige language in society. Scholarly innovations in that language were readily accepted by its users.

The modern Indian linguistic situation is, however, very complicated. In any area where a modern Indian language is spoken, it is not the sole medium of total linguistic activity of the community. Sanskrit is the language of the religious life of the Hindua, Pali of the Buddhists, Arddha Magadhi of the Jains and Arabic of the Muslims. There is a language of administration and of higher education. It was Sanskrit in the old and in the mediaeval period for the Hindua. It was Persian in the Muslim period and it has been English since the middle of the nineteenth century. Any attempt at standardisation of Indian languages has to take cognizance of problems involved in the hierarchical structure of the language situation in India. Unlike Sanskrit in the ancient period, modern Indian languages are spoken by two sharply divided communities: the educated middle class which forms the power elite and the teeming millions without any formal education. Programmes of standardisation of languages made by that elite are often shaped by their value system which are not necessarily identical with those of the non-elites. Two languages - Hindi and Bengali - have been taken here to demonstrate the nature of these problems. Both the languages, spoken by millions of people, have problems which are identical in nature but their manifestations are different and thus both of them help to understand the nature of attempts at language standardisation in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural context.

2. Hindi, the official language of India, is spoken by 153,729,062 people according to the 1971 Census. It is actually a blanket term to cover several distinct dialects spoken over a vast area in north and central India. Linguists have divided the whole area into three principal linguistic zones: Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi and Bihari (Grierson 1904, 1906). Modern scholars view the language situation in this area as a successive stratum each super-imposed on the other (Ghatage 1962:139). At the lowest stratum are the various village dialects spoken in smaller areas each different from the other in varying degrees and present a continuum of mutual intelligibility "which is proportional to geographical distance and not directly related to political and standard language boundaries" (Gumperz 1963:979). On this stratum are dialects spoken over larger areas such as Braj, Kanauj, Bundeli, Khariboli and Bangru (which forms the Western Hindi complex), and Awadhi, Bagheli, Chattisgarhi (which form the Eastern Hindi complex), and Maithili, Maghi and Bhojpuriya (which are included in Bihari).

Super-imposed on this stratum is Hindi-Hindustani which has emerged as the prestige dialect only in recent times.

Dialects belonging to the second stratum functioned as literary languages in the mediaeval period. The greatest literary figures in Hindi wrote mainly in Braj, Awadhi, and Maithili, speakers of which are careful to keep their linguistic identity distinct from Hindi.<sup>1</sup> These dialects were intelligible, to some extent, in neighbouring dialect areas. Their literary functions were often different and distinct. For example Braj exploits the Radha-Krishna theme, while poets sing the praises of Rama in Awadhi. A kind of lingua franca existed in this vast area and that acquired greater currency thanks to the saints and poets who used to travel from one part of the country to another. The language of Kabir and specially of the Granth Sahib show in ample measures that poets and saints used more than one dialect and occasionally a mixture of two.<sup>2</sup> When Muslims came and settled in and around Delhi, the dialect of this area received their attention. The Muslims came from different parts of the Middle East and they used to speak different languages. The Afghans spoke Pushtu, the Turks Turki, and when the Mughals came they spoke Persian. It was urgently necessary for them to have a link language which they developed on the basis of the Delhi dialect. Chatterji (1960:189) refers to this dialect as *ā* dialect as opposed to *au/-o* dialects of Western Hindi: the distinction being in the ending of masculine nouns and adjectives e.g. *merā beṭā my son* as opposed to *merau beṭau* or *mero beṭo*. This dialect is known by various names: Dahlawī, Hindvī, Kharibolī and later Hindustanī. Scholars, however, passionately debate the meaning and connotations of these names and the relative chronology of their use.<sup>3</sup> Though this dialect did not have the prestige of a literary language it served as a medium of communication between the natives and the immigrants. The real break-through, however, came in the Deccan where a large number of Muslims settled. They went from north India and spoke different languages as their

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<sup>1</sup>Maithili is taught in some of the colleges and universities of Bihar. Indian Sahitya Akademy has recognised it as a separate language. Hindi literary historians, however, usually consider Maithili literature as part of Hindi literature.

<sup>2</sup>Languages of several Hindi poets of the mediaeval period show some mixture of different dialects. Mixing up of two dialects and some times two independent languages is a feature of mediaeval literary styles in India. In Bengal, for example, an artificial poetic language developed known as *Brajabuli* (a mixture of Bengali and Maithili) which existed till nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup>In the etymological sense Hindi or Hindustani can mean any language of Hindi or Hindustan i.e. India. For detailed discussion of these terms see Chatterji (1960), Narula, S.S. (1955) and Grierson (1904, 1916).

mother-tongue and some variety of Khariboli which later became more and more standardised. At first it was called Dakhni (southern) and later it came to be known as Urdu.<sup>1</sup> It was written in Perso-Arabic script and had a large number of Perso-Arabic words. By the end of the sixteenth century it acquired some prestige and attracted the notice of north Indian Muslims and when they started using it, obviously with some deviations, it came to be known as Šimali Urdu (northern Urdu). Shamsuddin Wali (c. 1668-1741) better known as Wali, who first wrote in Dakhni, later first known poet in the Delhi variety of Urdu. He settled in Delhi around 1721 and a new school of poetry came into existence at that time. This dialect received patronage of the Nughal court and consequently it was established as the dialect par excellence. Perso-Arabic vocabulary began to increase in course of time. It borrowed meters and literary forms from Persian and thus slowly it became an Islamic variety of Khariboli, though it was used by a large number of Hindus.

By the middle of the eighteenth century Khariboli had therefore two styles, Hindustani and Urdu, although they were often used as synonyms. Hindustani is the popular style used by men of various social and economic class all over north India. Urdu was more sophisticated and Persianised in its vocabulary and exotic in its literary language. Another style of Khariboli, generally known as Hindi or High Hindi, emerged in the nineteenth century. Khariboli without a Persian bias was first used in the College of Fort William in Calcutta in the first decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> This style slowly acquired a larger percentage of Sanskritic vocabulary and was written in Deva Nagari script. Hindi and Urdu are structurally identical but they became mutually unintelligible because of sharp difference in lexical items.

According to some scholars this Hindi is an artificial language created to maintain a distinct identity of this dialect by nationalistic Hindus (Madangopal 1953:101-39). Grierson claimed that Hindi as it is understood today was "invented by the English". He thought it was created for the use of Hindus and "was created by taking Urdu, the only form then known, as a basis, ejecting therefrom all words of Persian and Arabic origin" and substituting them with Sanskritic words (1922:53).

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<sup>1</sup>Urdu is a word of Turkish origin meaning 'army'. This language was also known as *rekhta* 'scattered or crumbled'. For a detailed discussion of the emergence of Urdu see the article written by Rafiq Zakaria in Nadvi (1961).

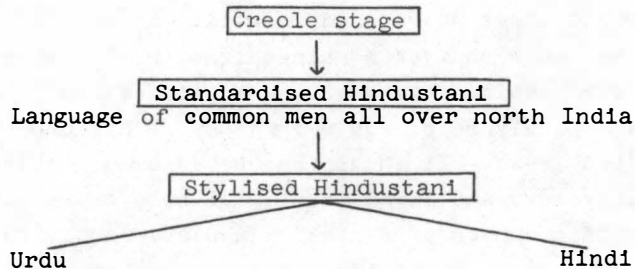
<sup>2</sup>In the College of Fort William books were written and printed both in Urdu and in Hindi which was often termed Braj bhakha. Urdu and Hindustani were synonymous at that time. British teachers and their Indian colleagues in this College were the first to identify the distinctions between Hindi and Urdu in terms of their vocabulary, literary traditions and script used in writing.



On the other hand many Hindi scholars do not accept the separate existence of Hindustani, an intermediary language between Urdu and High Hindi, so powerfully advocated by Gandhi and many writers of the present time.<sup>1</sup>

The standardisation of Hindi passed through two important phases: creolisation and stylisation.<sup>2</sup> When Muslims settled in Delhi there must have been a hybrid language, a mixture of Persian, Arabic, Turki Khariboli and some other dialects including Panjabi. In the absence of a better term I describe this phase as creolisation. When this creole was standardised the resulting form of the language came to be known as Hindustani.

In the second phase when this language was employed in literature the process of stylisation started. As a result Urdu emerged as the language of the Muslim elite with several sounds borrowed from Persian and with a definite influence of Persianism on other levels of the language, and later High Hindi as the language of the Hindu elite. Sanskritisation and Hindi coincided with growing Hindu nationalism and it gathered momentum particularly after the establishment of Arya Samaj in 1875 and also due to some positive influence of Sanskritic Bengali. By the end of the nineteenth century the break between Hindi and Urdu was complete. This development can be described in a simple diagram.



3. Khariboli had very little chance of becoming popular and eventually prestigious but for the intervention of the Muslim elite in the Hindi linguistic scene. Muslims came to Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century, but exposure of Bengali to Persian produced a dif-

<sup>1</sup>For different views see Shukla (1947), Pandeya (1957), Sharma (1932), Gandhi (1965). See also Abbas (1960) for his comments on the nature of Hindustani used in Bombay films.

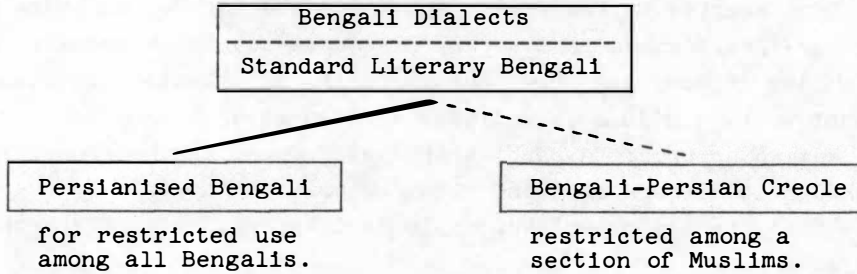
<sup>2</sup>These terms are used here to distinguish two phases of language development in a multi-dialect situation: the first process being unplanned and unconscious and the second planned and deliberate. The stage of the growth of a hybrid jargon is a natural process and that has been termed as the stage of creolisation. When there is conscious effort to give a special shape to that 'creole' that has been called stylisation.

ferent result. Bengali, though it had widely divergent dialects, and developed a uniform literary style since the fifteenth century. The literary style was standardised at such an early period probably due to its adherence to the Sanskrit spelling system. People pronounced the words differently but wrote in an uniform system. Moreover, the dialect of West Bengal assumed a greater prestige in the fifteenth-sixteenth century. Most of the notable writers of Bengali belonged to this area. Muslims came to Bengal and introduced Persian as the language of administration which the ambitious Hindus learnt avidly but no Muslim Bengali emerged as a rival style of Bengali.

The Muslim elite in Bengal was smaller in size compared to that in North India. Secondly large number of Bengali Muslims were actually converts from Hinduism and they belonged to the artisan class and the peasantry and they spoke Bengali as their mother-tongue. On top of that the Muslim elite in Bengal found Urdu adequate to retain their group identity. An attempt to create a Muslim Bengali, however, was made but that was confined within a small section and did not receive the support of the majority of Muslims till the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Persianisation of Hindustani was quick because Muslim writers used that language along with Persian and experimented with Persian literary themes. In Bengali, Muslim writers were few and far between and moreover Muslim Kings patronised Bengali. Bengali borrowed large number of Persian words and yet remained free from Persianism. The basic difference of attitude between the Muslim elites in North India and in Bengal was partly responsible for the two different lines of development in two areas. It should not be assumed, however, that Persian failed to exert any significant influence on Bengali. It did influence in certain sphere of Bengali linguistic activity where Bengali was found inadequate or less prestigious. For example legal documents in Bengali were written in a Persianised style. But the literary function of Persian in Bengali is mainly decorative. Persian words help to create an exotic atmosphere and do not necessarily give an Islamic flavour. Unlike Hindustani, therefore, Bengali did not face the problem of Persianisation and non-Persianisation. The process in Bengali can be described in the following diagram:

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<sup>1</sup>A style containing large number of Persian words originated in late seventeenth century which became popular among a section of Bengali Muslims in the nineteenth century. Stylisation became more vigorous in the twentieth century but it did not succeed because there was no viable Persian-Bengali creole as its basis. There are some evidences of some kind of creole in industrial towns where Urdu speaking Muslims came from Bihar and U.P. and acquired a smattering of Bengali. But the Muslim peasantry in Bengal was mono-lingual and thus a Muslim creole could not grow.



In the nineteenth century when literary prose emerged in Bengali - there was no literary prose in the preceding centuries - the problem of standardisation centred around the tendencies of Sanskritisation and non-Sanskritisation.<sup>1</sup> The Sanskritised style was known as *Sadhu Bhasa* (the elite style) and the style which did not favour Sanskritisation was termed as *Colita bhasa* (the current speech). A speech style was soon standardised which was used in religious debates and sermons and also on the Bengali stage. It was based on Calcutta dialect with some minor modifications. But the emergence of a standard literary dialect to be used in prose was delayed because of its vacillation between Sanskritisation and non-Sanskritisation. In the case of Hindi the process of stylisation resulted in the divergence of two styles. In the case of Bengali it resulted in the convergence of different styles of written Bengali. Sanskritised Bengali was considered to be artificial and the non-Sanskritised Bengali was considered to be ill-suited for intellectual communication. So the standard style which emerged in the nineteenth century was a compromise between the two.

In the next phase of standardisation of Bengali there was an attempt to reduce the difference between literary standard and standard speech. At the first stage of their growth *Sadhu bhasa* and *Colita bhasa* were distinguished by their relative Sanskritism. At the next stage of their existence the distinction was made solely on the differences between few pronominals and verbal forms. *Colita bhasa* used those forms which were used in the Standard speech but *Sadhu bhasa* used another set of pronominal and verbal forms which belonged to the Middle Bengali and naturally they did not exist in the speech of any one in the nineteenth century. There were heated debates in the Bengali press and Bengali writers were divided into two camps one favouring the retention of the difference between the literary and the standard dialect, the other favouring the convergence of the two. For a long time

<sup>1</sup>This problem has been discussed in detail in Das (1966).

Bengali was written in two styles and only recently Colita bhasa has become more prestigious in literary discourse but Sadhu bhasa is still active in many spheres. Many speakers of sub-standard dialects also want to retain it as a unifying written style. The whole story can be summed up thus: a particular dialect becomes the prestige dialect though it differs from the standard written style in few respects. Finally the literary or written style is identified with the spoken standard.

Here again, Bengali provides an interesting contrast to the Hindi situation. In the case of Sanskritised Hindi or High Hindi, the written style emerged first, ahead of the spoken style. In Bengali the literary standard took the standard speech as its model.

4. This brief account of language standardisation both in Hindi and in Bengali shows very clearly how social and religious forces work behind the process of standardisation. The Urdu-Hindi problem, for example, became a burning political issue. Similarly, at a later stage, a section of Bengali Muslims thought Bengali which has been nourished by Hindu-Buddhist traditions was a threat to their religious identity. When English appeared on the linguistic scene in India, the already complicated language situation of this country became more complicated. English education helped the growth of another elite group different from the earlier group in taste and motivations. English was accepted first by the Bengali elite and then by the Hindu elite in other parts of India as the vehicle of modern science and technology. It soon became not only the language of administration but of new education and thus became the most prestigious language in the Indian society. English words started coming into Bengali and Hindi either through direct borrowing or through translation. By the middle of the twentieth century not only hundreds of lexical items were borrowed from English by Indian languages, but the normal informal educated speech styles of Indians became a pot-pourri of English and their respective languages. In some cases the influence of English has gone beyond lexical levels. For example in Bengali one notices the presence of final consonant clusters, certain initial consonant clusters previously unknown to the language. And these features are not restricted to educated speech only. Most of these features are reflected in literary styles also. However conservatism is clearly seen with respect to words borrowed from English. This conservatism is not a new phenomenon as it had worked throughout the history of linguistic development in India, thus giving the process of standardisation of Indian languages its peculiar character.

Grammarians of Prakrit languages divided the vocabulary of those languages into three classes: tatsama (unmodified Sanskrit words), tadbhava (modified Sanskrit words) and deṣṭ (words of unknown origin, probably from the non-Sanskritic languages spoken in India). This classification roughly corresponds with caste hierarchy in Hindu society. Tatsama corresponds with the status of Brahmins in Hindu society and deṣṭ words are the 'fallen words'. And that is one reason why tatsama words were preferred to tadbhava and deṣṭ. The mixing up of tatsama and non-tatsama words in a style was often censored as guru-caṇḍālī doṣ *Brahmin-outcaste error*. When Persian and English words are considered by Indian grammarians they are included in another category: Videsī (foreign). The attitude of the purist is much different from the orthodox Hindu attitude to a foreigner who is often considered as a mleccha. Attempts of language standardisation as well as official language policies in India have been partly regulated by this kind of deep-rooted social and religious prejudices of religious communities as well as of different social and economic groups. Pride and prejudices of different groups are clearly manifested in the issues relating to the standardisation of technical terms, reform of script and spelling and so on. Chatterji pointed out in an article on Scientific terminology in Bengali (*Desh*, Annual Number, 1964) that the labours of committees specially appointed for creating suitable terminology in Hindi and Bengali have been wasted because of lack of a uniform policy. One notices four tendencies: Sanskritisation, Persianisation, Anglicisation and also indigenisation - working at cross purposes. The main motivation of the first two tendencies is to retain a special group character in the language concerned. John Beames pleaded long ago (1865) not only for the retention of Perso-Arabic element in official Hindustani but he also believed that borrowing from Semitic sources was better than borrowing from Sanskrit or other Indian sources. His arguments were mainly linguistic but the actual choice between borrowing and reconstruction never depended on precise objective terms. In case of building a scientific terms, for example, it is generally admitted that retention of European terms already familiar in Indian languages would serve the purpose of achieving greater linguistic efficiency than reconstructing them. One of the motivations of Sanskritisation is to build up a common core of words in Indian languages to keep them closer. But in actual practice technical terms coined from Sanskrit in Hindi and Bengali were less convergent than those taken from English (Ray 1963:72). On the other hand, indigenisation which was championed by many to make technical terms intelligible to larger number of people were often too uneconomical and was a fanatic reaction against familiar English or Sanskrit words,

which have already become part and parcel of the commonman's vocabulary.

The same tendencies were manifested in the issues involving reform or standardisation of script. Different groups clung passionately to different scripts even when their disadvantages were clearly pointed out. Deva Nagari has a symbolic value for the Hindu elite and Perso-Arabic script is considered a "symbol of the essential unity of culture of art" for the Indian Muslims (Mujeeb 1966). All attempts of Romanisation were severely criticised by champions of different scripts. Gandhi wrote in 1939 that "the only script that is ever likely to be universal in India is Devanagari, either reformed or as it is. Urdu or Persian will go hand in hand unless Muslims of their own free-will acknowledge the superiority of Devanagari from a purely scientific and national standpoint....The Roman script would displace both. But sentiment and science alike are against the Roman script." (1965:55-6) In fact Gandhi voiced the feeling of a nationalist emotionally attached to Deva Nagari though it is well known that "comparative intricacy and complexity of its letters, the use of conjunct consonants and the syllabic and not purely alphabetical character of the writing" (Chatterji 1960:237) are its main defects. Mujeeb saw in the Perso-Arabic script the possibility of isolating the Urdu language from "the modern world of technology and delaying the attainment through Urdu of the knowledge which moves the whole of the modern life" (1966:36). Committees were made to suggest reform in Deva Nagari or in the Bengali script but there was no significant change. While many agree that the presence of letters representing *r*, *ai* and *au* in Deva Nagari were not really necessary (Madangopal 1953:275-6, Sharma 1968:113) they were allowed to stay. The situation was more complex in Bengali. It retained long vowels, three sibilants [*s* *ʃ* *ʂ*], two contrasting nasals, one retroflex [*ŋ*] and one dental [*n*], to mention only a few, in the script, though they were not present in the speech. When Calcutta University appointed a committee in 1937 to suggest changes in Bengali spelling some standardisation was made with respect to non-tatsama words only, although many scholars protested against such changes (Ghosh 1939). Simplification of consonant clusters in writing (which are written with conjunct characters) can economise the problems in reading writing and printing in Bengali as well as in Deva Nagari and can thus substantially help in the programmes on the eradication of illiteracy. Probably with a view to achieving that objective, one influential Bengali daily made some attempts at the simplification of medial consonant clusters in 1967. But they left the Tatsama words untouched. In fact all attempts, official and non-official, of language standardisation in

Hindi and Bengali, have been regulated by so many extra-linguistic factors ranging from religious to political and social factors that a choice in linguistic terms alone is hardly possible. The modern phase of standardisation of Indian languages thus is marked by a very serious tension between the elitistic and popular approach and needs, as well as between the forces of modernisation and of tradition.

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## ON THE STANDARDISATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TERMS IN PILIPINO

Virgilio G. Enriquez

The use of Pilipino in Philippine psychological literature is part of an over-all concern for the study and application of psychological theories and methods relevant to the Filipino experience and Asian thought. In the first printed book on *Philippine Studies in Mental Measurement* (Carreon 1912), it can be seen that Filipino educational psychologists insisted on modifying items found in psychological tests as a first step towards the full indigenisation of Philippine mental testing. The wholesale adoption of western tests was viewed with suspicion because their validity had not been demonstrated locally. Approximately seven decades later, the suspicion grew into outright rejection thus providing impetus to the development of original Filipino psychological tests. Some psychologists relaxed said suspicion into passive acceptance by way of adopting and translating Western-oriented tests. A case in point on this issue can be gleaned from a recent Central Philippine University thesis entitled 'The Applicability of American Norms for the Cattell Sixteen Personality Factor Test to a Group of Cebuano Teachers.' The main findings of the thesis point to the inapplicability of said norms.

Sometime in the 1920s and 1930s, interest in the development and standardisation of Philippine psychological tests gained momentum. Filipino psychologists showed much concern with questions of establishing norms, test standardisation, and the reliability and validity of tests. However, minimal attention was given to issues related to language and language standardisation although the standardisation of any verbal test entails the standardisation of the language used in said test. Concern for language revolved on the issue of choosing the language if psychological testing. Panlasigui, a Filipino psychologist

of note, argued for the use of English as greater attention was given to Filipino in the local psychological scene.

Towards the late 1950s, Felipe and Miteria developed courses on Filipino psychology and values at the University of the Philippines. As an off-shoot of the renewed interest in the psychology of the Filipino, more meaningful data were gathered in the Filipino language. Felipe (1961) wrote a thesis on the thematic analysis of the Filipino character using Tagalog short stories. Sollee (1963) used Tagalog stimulus materials in a study of perceptual defense among Filipino-English bilinguals. Yet, English categories and coding schemes were used in the treatment and analysis of Filipino data. Some did not even stop short of translating Ilocano and Tagalog data such as dreams to English, unmindful of the unbridgeable nuances across languages and cultures. In fact Fe Abasolo Domingo's (1961) data on child-rearing practices in a Philippine barrio were gathered in Filipino but suffered distortion through the unavoidable pitfalls of translation into English and was further subjected to alienation through the importation of Western analytic categories in the treatment of data.

The use of locally meaningful categories of analysis emerged by the middle sixties along with the token use of Filipino in social psychological papers on *hiya shame or embarrassment*, *utang na loob gratitude*, and *pakikisama conformity*. (Bulatao, Kaut, Lynch, but see Lawless 1968).

Token use of Filipino in written materials appeared deceptive against the background of active use of the Filipino language among Filipino psychologists and the masses. The language was used in lecture halls, in formal psychological reports as well as in informal conversations among psychologists. However, Filipino was still heavily mixed and interlarded with English technical and non-technical terms and no psychologist in the 1960s showed much concern about the standardisation of psychological terms in Filipino.

The intensive use of Filipino together with the rise of activism in the 1960s was a prelude to the current interest in the standardisation of psychological terms in Filipino. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Torres and David started offering psychology courses in Filipino at the University of the Philippines while de la Cruz followed suit by using Filipino in experimental psychology at the Ateneo de Manila University.

To date, the use of Filipino is an established fact in academic Philippine psychology. It is used in undergraduate and graduate courses on General Psychology, Experimental Psychology, Social Psychology, Psychopathology, Behaviour Analysis, Psychology of Language and Psycholinguistics. Since 1972, psychology in Filipino has been addressing a nationwide audience at the Annual Conventions of the Psychological

Association of the Philippines. Books and journal articles in psychology and written and published in the Pilipino language at an ever increasing rate that it now definitely makes sense to talk about the eventual standardisation of psychological terms in Pilipino.

## 1. DEMANDS FOR AND ISSUES RELEVANT TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND STANDARDISATION OF PHILIPPINE PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURES

As yet, there is no institutionalised planning and no concerted programme helping in the development and standardisation of Pilipino in psychology and the social sciences. The use of Pilipino in the technical fields of academic psychology is a reaction of urgency to complex needs for communication and understanding by a wider audience of Filipinos.

Formalisation according to levels of discourse. The ease of understanding a psychological text in Pilipino has to be partly dictated by the intended audience of the article or material. There is a need to translate the technical language of *Sikolinggwistikang Pilipino* (1974) to *Liwayway* (non-technical, popular) Pilipino, as there was a similarly felt need to translate the technical language meant for the specialist readers of the *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* to the non-technical language addressed to the lay readers of *Psychology Today*.

Regardless of the level of discourse and the intended audience, the actual use of a language is a precondition of, if not the first step towards eventual language standardisation. This may sound naive and the argument might be couched in a crude language but the claim can be put thus: language use is at the core of language standardisation. Each time a Pilipino term is used to express a psychological concept, an implicit decision is made on the relative appropriateness of the term for the concept. A conscious or unconscious decision to use a term can be straightened and intuitive at one extreme but wrought with difficulties and hesitations on the other. While making implicit decisions on the use of terms on a case-to-case basis might suffice and be the usual approach followed by Pilipino psychologists in most areas of psychology, it behooves the psychologists of language to pay attention to forces and determinant factors (if any) which guide the ongoing search for appropriate terminology and system of labeling.

## 2. PRELIMINARY STAGES OF STANDARDISATION IN PSYCHOLOGICAL TERMINOLOGY

It is proposed that Pilipino terms in psychology should rely heavily on folk data, Asian psychology, and folk-conceived categorisations and labels. This proposal need not be made but the Pilipino psychologist

has to be occasionally reminded of his roots in folk thinking and his deeply oriental character. Reminders of this nature are not altogether superfluous. A quick look at the *Philippine Journal of Psychology* and English language journals related to psychology would attest to this need. Contemporary Philippine psychology in the English language is dominated by categories of analysis based on theoretical persuasions developed in the matrix of western cultures. The use of Pilipino should entail the diminution in the use of western-oriented concepts and the consequent increase in the salience of Asian perspectives but the western orientation still looms large in academic Philippine psychology. To correct this imbalance, it is proposed that along with the use of Pilipino and the standardisation of psychological terminology, emphasis should be given to local experience and data as determinants of categories. This is in addition to categories and systematisations provided by the folk language and the implicit metaphysics of Pilipino. However, this approach remains open to the use of concepts and labels from theoretical developments in other cultures.

Decisions on labels for categories are definitely related to the question of language standardisation. On the basis of our experience with the use of Pilipino in psychological research and instruction, I shall discuss five types of labels for psychological categories. There might be more systematic way of classifying the labels but the following should be a workable classification: Imagine a five-point scale where the midpoint is represented by the interactive assimilation of labels and the two endpoints represented by the use of particular or uniquely native labels on one end and the outright borrowing of labels on the opposite end. Somewhere between the midpoint and the 'puristic' end of the scale would be the native labels for universal or shared concepts, while somewhere between the midpoint and the 'antipuristic (outright borrowing)' end would lie the use and endorsement of surface assimilation of borrowed labels.

Our practice in the use of Pilipino in psychology avails of all points in our hypothetical five-point scale. Choice of one end of the scale against the other is sometimes dictated by taste or style but generally dictated by rational and explicit considerations.

The following are some of the considerations that get onto the choice of labels for categories. (One must note that choosing one form against another does not imply the constant use of the preferred form and the non-use of the alternative or rejected forms:

1. The familiarity of a label or its frequency of usage. For example *pakikibagay* (social adaptation) is a better choice than *pakikitungo* (social adaptation) because of the greater familiarity and more

frequent use of *pakikibagay* as compared to *pakikitungo*.

2. The existence of developed literature suggested by one category label as compared to minimal literature in another. To illustrate, there is a choice between the perfectly natural and folk inspired *pagkakaroon ng ideya* (literally *having an idea*) and the rather awkward loan translation *pagbuo ng konsepto* (concept formation). Other considerations would favour the idiomatic rendition *pagkakaroon ng ideya* but the existence of a developed literature on concept formation in English language journals tilts the balance of choice in favour of the calque *pagbuo ng konsepto* which is reminiscent of the English jargon. Also, there is a curious general tolerance for loan translations in Pilipino.

3. The relational and theoretical fertility of a concept (cf. Feather, Atkinson and McClelland). To illustrate, a choice can be made among *salobin*, *atityud*, *opinyon*, and *palagay*. Other considerations such as the frequency level of usage and the familiarity of a label would favour *palagay* except for its taboo meaning in another Philippine language (Cebuano Visayan). *Opinyon* is a good choice because it is generally understood and it has its anchor in other languages such as Spanish and English.





## THE STANDARDISATION OF BAHASA INDONESIA

S.W. Rudjati Muljadi

When Bahasa Indonesia was declared the national language of Indonesia by the famous All Indonesia Congress in Jakarta on October 28, 1928, nobody dared to dream that 17 years later it would become the official language of a new nation and of a new republic, the Republic of Indonesia, as is now stated in her Constitution of 1945, Chapter XV, Section 36.

The year of 1928 marked the beginning of Bahasa Indonesia as a symbol of Indonesian nationalism, without implying that the national language had nothing to do historically with Malay out of which it has grown. Conscious efforts in developing the national language probably did not begin until the early thirties. The literary magazines *Poedjangga Baroe* [The New Poet], which was concerned with language as well as literary matters, under the direction of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, appeared in 1933. It was those who were active in connection with *Poedjangga Baroe* who played an important role in promoting the use and the development of Bahasa Indonesia when the Japanese arrived in 1942.

It may be mentioned at this point that the Japanese occupation accelerated further the growth of Bahasa Indonesia. Before the war Bahasa Indonesia which at that time was also known as Malay was spoken as a mother tongue only in Riau, the eastern coast of Sumatra, Jakarta, and Ambon, apart from its use by nationalist groups.

During the war the Japanese forces forbade the teaching and use of foreign languages, especially Dutch and English. It was obvious that the use of Japanese to replace Dutch as the language of government was out of the question, simply because the population did not know any Japanese. Therefore it follows that there was no other choice but the use of Indonesian as a language of government in dealing with the people of Indonesia. This then boosted further the growth and use of Bahasa Indonesia.

Because of the sudden growth of Bahasa Indonesia during the Japanese occupation from a national language to a language of government, education, and technology, it was obvious that the language needed to be equipped with standard grammar and technical terms. For this purpose the Japanese colonial government established a committee which was assigned to develop Indonesian technical terms. Members of the committee represented experts of various fields of knowledge such as linguistics, law, education, economics, chemistry and engineering.

After Indonesia proclaimed her independence in 1945 Bahasa Indonesia became the state language, the official medium of instruction in practically all schools and the official language of science and technology. This status made it imperative that the language be standardised more seriously, that grammar books for the school and the public be written, and that the formation of technical terms be increased qualitatively and extensively.

One of the efforts in standardising Bahasa Indonesia was the spelling reform of 1947. This spelling reform departed from the Ophuysen spelling of 1901 in a number of ways. A number of grammar books as well as dictionaries designed for the schools and the public began to appear in the late forties.

As far as technical terms were concerned an ad hoc committee for technical terms was established by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1947. This became the standing Committee for Technical Terms formed in 1950. This committee eventually became a division of Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya (Institute of Language and Culture), Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia in Jakarta. New terms were then published an appendix of the *Bahasa dan Budaya* (Language and Culture). When at the end of 1966 this committee with its 23 sections terminated its activities, it had produced 321,710 technical terms, almost all of which were translated from Dutch.

In the meantime an agreement was signed in 1959 between Indonesia and the Federal Malayan States. The two countries agreed to adopt a common spelling system which was to be called the Melindo Spelling, which was to be effective as of January 1962 at the latest. This agreement never materialised because of the political situation at that time. The effort was revived in 1966, and six years later the two countries announced their common spelling simultaneously on August 16, 1972.

A few months thereafter the Ministry of Education and Culture established the Committee for the Development of Bahasa Indonesia whose main task was to carry out the co-operation in linguistic matters with Malaysia as part of a general cultural agreement between the two countries. It was agreed that two meetings were to be held every year,

once in Indonesia and once in Malaysia. At the fifth meeting, which took place in Malaysia earlier this month, the two sides agreed on a general guide-line for the formation of technical terms, and on a further elaboration of the 1972 spelling reform. These, in Indonesian as well as in Malay versions, will be officially made public early next year. Specific guidelines for the formation of technical terms in geography, chemistry, physics, mathematics, and biology will soon be formulated also. Further co-operation in a common effort to standardise grammar will be explored. The so-called compound words and phonology, especially the problem of double consonants, are to be worked on next.

An interesting case which is worth mentioning here is that language matters have attracted more and more attention from the government as well as from the community since the early seventies. Voices of pro and against the renovation of the spelling system in the late sixties have put Bahasa Indonesia in a special limelight. Before the seventies it seemed that it was just a hopeless struggle to ask for more attention for Bahasa Indonesia. The community seemed to feel that it was enough to be able to speak Bahasa Indonesia, that Bahasa Indonesia grew up with them anyway, and was not a worthy subject to be studied. One of the results has been that the student bodies in Bahasa Indonesia departments at the Faculties of Letters throughout the country have gradually but surely decreased in both size and quality.

Consistent with the Indonesian government's national development plans, the budget allocated to the activities in relation to language matters has not been sufficient until the current fiscal year. This year it has increased by 800%. In the years to come a further increase is expected.

More attention has been given to radio and television programmes on Bahasa Indonesia by means of which the public may improve the quality of their mastery of Bahasa Indonesia. Upgrading courses of which Bahasa Indonesia was also a crucial part have been organised in ministries, institutes, and even in banks for the benefit of their employees. In his presidential annual addresses, which were delivered in the eve of the Indonesian independence day, President Suharto had for the last three years urged the community to upgrade their use of Bahasa Indonesia. Furthermore, the governor of metropolitan Jakarta, Ali Sadikin, has also instructed government officials and businessmen in his jurisdiction to use Indonesian rather than English in the names of their offices and shops, and in their professional terminology.

For the purpose of standardising Bahasa Indonesia, especially with regard to the development of technical and professional terminology, there are four sets of activities which may be mentioned at this point.

First, the National Language Institute has been involved in joint efforts with such professional groups as bankers, finance officers, administrators, law enforcement officers, as well as industrial community. These groups have requested the Institute's guidance and co-operation in their attempt to find standard names and terms. In this connection the first symposium on language and law which was organised by the Ministry of Justice last month, to which linguists were invited as full participants, is also highly significant. The involvement of the Institute in planning and carrying out television and radio programmes on Bahasa Indonesia has been going on since October last year. Second, the Institute has also been consulted in relation to the formulation of various laws, government decrees and documents. At the present time the Institute is involved in the formulation of employment law. The fact that the Institute was also consulted in the final formulation of the documents in relation to the second Five-Year Development Plans of Indonesia earlier this year is also encouraging. Third, the availability of scholarship funds has made it possible for the Institute to implement its personnel development plans for the sole purpose of equipping the Institute with well-trained professional staff. This is to be achieved by granting scholarships to college students majoring in Bahasa Indonesia and vernacular languages. Scholarships are also offered to high school graduates who are interested in enrolling in Bahasa Indonesia departments. Scholarship funds are also used to train college instructors and linguists, including the linguists on the staff of the Institute, so that they become professionally qualified to be engaged in development as well as research projects such as dictionary-making, sociolinguistic research, dialectology, literary analysis, and translation. Fourth, the present National Language Institute is soon to be re-organised in such a way that it will be responsible for technical matters directly to Minister of Education and Culture. In this position, it will enable the Institute to handle the standardisation of Bahasa Indonesia on a more comprehensive basis, to handle multilingualism in Indonesia in relation to the standardisation of the national language by formulating and implementing an over-all national language policy, and to co-operate as closely as possible with institutions of learning of all types and levels.

The current availability of extra budget above and beyond regular routine as well as development budget for activities related to language matters such as participating in international conferences has certainly been a heart-warming reinforcement for the untiring efforts of those who have contributed to the growth, development, and standardisation of Bahasa Indonesia, who have worked hard despite the very low

budget available in the past. It is this group of people, most of whom are unknown, who are primarily responsible for the development of Bahasa Indonesia as it is today and thus making it possible for us to share the Indonesian experience with you in this conference.

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## THE USE OF STANDARD THAI IN SCHOOLS

Wissanu Rawangking

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Thai is an isolating language. The native Thai words are predominantly monosyllabic with five phonemically distinct tones; each syllable or word has an inherent tone whose meaning is determined by the consonants and vowels. Morphologically, polysyllabic words are also found; one of the syllables in most cases becomes modified, the vowel is shortened or becomes like the sound in the unstressed syllables of English, as in:

/cəw/	<i>master</i>	/nî./	<i>debt</i>	/cêwnî./	<i>creditor</i>
/roŋ/	<i>building</i>	/ri.aḥ/	<i>learn</i>	/roŋri.aṇ/	<i>school</i>
/dək/	<i>bloom</i>	/má.j/	<i>plant</i>	/dəkmá.j/	<i>flower</i>

No inflection of nouns, pronouns or verbs is needed; case, gender, number, tense, etc. are indicated by the addition of other words. In syntax, the typical sentence is generally like English, i.e. it contains subject, verb and object in that order. But Thai attributive constructions differ from those of English in that the head must always precede the attribute. Looking into historical linguistics of Thai, Paul K. Benedict says that Thai is more closely related to the Kadai languages (Lagua, Li, Kelae and Lati) than to Austronesian. All four Kadai languages are monosyllabic, isolating type, with full tonal as in Thai. The Kadai word-order, like that of Thai and Indonesian, show object following verb and modifying elements following modified elements; thus Malay *mata hari*, Li *sa van*, Thai *ta wan sun* Lit. *eye (of the) day*. It is noted that the word 'Thai' linguistically does not definitely mean language being used in Thailand but the language of Siam, Lao, Ahom, Tho, White Tai, Nung, Dioi, NBlank Tai, Khamti and Shan. In terms of

correspondences of the modern Thai and the proto Thai, we found more phonological and morphological changes as to be shown roughly. Loss of clusters in modern Thai as in:

\*blŭan > duan moon

\*grŭng > k<sup>h</sup>ing body

\*hruǎ > hua head

voiced consonants become voiceless as in:

\*vai > fai fire

\*van > fan tooth

\*gring > k<sup>h</sup>ing body

It has been found that some proto sounds do not appear in Modern Thai but in the dialects of Northern Thai and Northeastern Korat as in \*dang nose, \*gring body, \*som sour. Morphologically, monosyllabic words are changed to polysyllabic in modern Thai in words as in:

\*duk > kraduk bone

\*tu > pratù door

Historically, an acceptable word in the olden days is now accepted in Modern Thai as from ku I. King Ramkamhaeng (Sokothai period, ?-1350) who first invented the rock inscription representing the spoken language in A.D. 1283, wrote that:

/phà	kū.	chỳ	sŷ.	intara tlt/
father	I	name	Sri	Intratit

It seems possible that the word /ku/ I was accepted even by the king; in modern Thai this word is considered impolite.

Thailand is linguistically divided into four main parts: Central Thai, Peninsular Thai and Northeastern Korat. J.M. Brown who studied and made a comparative study of Thai dialects found that there are three main linguistic groups of dialects in Thailand; those are the Changaen Group which is the origin of Thai-yai, Northern Thai and Central Thai, the Luangprabang Group which is the origin of Northeastern and Lao dialects, and the group of all the dialects in Peninsular Thai which have been used for 400 to 900 years ago. In addition there are about 30 languages being used in Thailand, but among all of these, the standard Thai and central Thai dialects are the most popular ones. People in different regions speak their own local variations; none of these dialects are so different from each other as to render communication excessively difficult among the speakers, i.e. the people from the South can well understand those from the North or the Northeastern by using Standard Thai as a medium or even by using their own dialects.



## 2. STANDARD THAI

The Thai government has a definite policy concerning the official language of Thailand. This policy provides that there should be only one official language to be used all over the Thai kingdom, composed of the northern and northeastern regions, the central region, the southern region which use dialects related to the Muslim speaking regions in neighbouring countries like Malaysia and Indonesia, and mountain regions inhabited by the Chao Khao *mountain people* better known as the Karen, Meao, Yao, Katin, Muser, Lawa, Iko, and Lisu tribes.

Standard Thai is the language used for formal communication, i.e. for business, conferences, etc. It is also used in education and mass media and when one is supposed to show courtesy to a person who is higher in rank, i.e. social status, profession, or is older, or when one wants to show courtesy to somebody who may not be older or higher in rank but whom one is not acquainted with. Whatever the language is or whatever the dialects are, the slight differences in tone and vocabulary in each dialect do not hinder the communication among people. Being aware of the minority of the non-Thai ethnic groups, the linguistic policy of the Thai government eliminated the minority problems by absorbing the minority populations into the national culture. Great emphasis had been placed on weakening the linguistic roots of the ethnic groups and promoted the knowledge of the Thai language throughout the country. Thus the compulsory education in the Thai language had been undertaken not only in the Thai schools but also in the foreign controlled institutions as well. For example, in private Chinese schools, the Standard Thai curriculum must be followed plus some hours of Chinese instruction. As in the case of the South with some Moslem communities, Thai is still the medium of instruction; yet the government still allows the teaching of Malay languages as a means of teaching Islam. With regard to those in the remote areas, the government has introduced two systems of how to educate children who cannot go to the village or town to study. First, they can go to a locally established school staffed by the Border Patrol Police. The government opens several boarding schools especially for the children from ethnic minorities. In the first year of elementary the language or dialect of the ethnic group is used as medium of instruction in both schools. However, the Thai language and culture must be introduced to get the minorities to participate in the national activities. The purpose of using standard Thai in schools is mainly, therefore, twofold: to enable the Thai and non-Thai citizens to acquire linguistic knowledge and to enable them to know their national culture. The knowledge of standard Thai will facilitate communication in education, official correspondences

and mass media. National culture therefore will be better appreciated in standard Thai. By means of education the textbooks and medium of instruction are to be presented in Thai in all levels. Historically, the first textbook had been used since the reign of King Narai the Great (Ayuthya period 1635-1688) namely Chindamani and was officially used until the middle of the Bangkok period (1887-1910). The second one is *Mulabotbhan pakit* written in the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), then the third one is *Babrianrew* (v. 1, 2 and 3 for the beginners), which has been used since then as the standard textbook for grade 1-2. Under the supervision of the Ministry of Education at present, the standard textbooks and materials are adequately available in all levels up to college and distributed free to those who cannot afford, as in the remote areas. For the special case as of the hill tribes, textbooks are specially prepared for them. In writing the textbooks, their culture is introduced first and then the Thai culture. The main objective is as mentioned before; i.e. to assimilate them to the national life and increase their sense of unity.

With regards to the curriculum, basically, education is a function and the responsibility of the state; thus Thai government offers aids and subsidies even to the private schools so as to easily set the standard aims and to assume the efficient operation of all schools. They have to follow the same curriculum and the standard textbooks recommended by the government. In school time requirement for all levels, the Thai language takes the top priority; for instance in elementary education Thai must be conducted at least five to seven hours out of 25-30 hours a week in the session of five days a week and 35 weeks of every year. It is assumed that before leaving the lower elementary education a child has completed at least 3,500 hours of National language. The purpose of teaching Thai in the beginning level is to promote language skills, to create desirable attitudes and give information which are in accordance with the age and the growth of pupils. The emphasis is placed upon the four main basic skills of language in relation to the development of all other subjects. For a child whose mother tongue is not standard Thai or Central Thai, he will find listening difficult at the beginning but he will get used to it gradually with the help of his teachers and the mass media. In speaking and reading the teacher will now and then encourage him to speak and read, by means of reporting, telling a story, repetition and so on. In the writing system, Thai alphabet has eighteen simple vowels, three diphthongs and 44 consonants but 20 different phonemes and eleven clusters. Words are put together in phrase without space or punctuations. A child will sometimes fail to discriminate words and syllables in sentences. However, he will be

required to practice writing every class day and in every subject.

As for the idea of uniting the national identity by virtue of using a particular language, we blame the people who 'mix their language' as discarding and destroying the beauty of language and culture. The duty falls upon the educational administration, the textbooks or materials. Since Thai government is centralised, it will be easier in any case to proclaim the education act to be used all over the kingdom and to follow up the result. For the textbooks, it is practical to use the same or the recommended ones in all or most regions of the country. Since standard Thai was developed from its dialects, it is very helpful to speakers who come from the provinces.

### 3. CONCLUSION

According to the linguistic policy of the Thai government, the effort to lead mutual understanding among the citizens is satisfactory. People are able to understand each other by means of using the particular language in both spoken and written systems. The government, began in 1921 with the Educational act which provided for compulsory use of the Thai language regardless of ethnic origin; then in 1936 Private School Act made compulsory the use of Standard Thai on alien schools as a language of instruction except for the language subject requirement in curriculum. Every level from kindergarten to university all over the kingdom is required to use standard Thai as a medium of instruction. Thailand, then has solved the language problem to avoid further delay in national building and development. What seems to be the problem now is the shortage of textbooks written in Thai in the higher education level. The Translation Foreign Textbooks Committee was appointed at the same time scholars are encouraged to write textbooks in Thai.

Language therefore is a very potent instrument to nation-building. It gives all the people a sense of unity and belonging when they can communicate with people from different areas despite their dialectal differences. For national identity and understanding the policy of using standard Thai should be continued.



## THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION IN THE COINING OF TECHNICAL TERMS IN BAHASA MALAYSIA

Asmah Haji Omar

In the year 1974, when one talks of the standardisation of Bahasa Malaysia in the context of the coining of technical terms, one cannot in any way avoid the question of the standardisation of Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia. The coining of technical terms in Malaysia is no longer the sole business of Malaysia but it also incorporates that of Indonesia. This has been so since December 1972 when the first meeting between Malaysia and Indonesia on the standardisation of technical terms in both the countries, was held in Kuala Lumpur. This meeting was to be followed by others held alternately in Indonesia and Malaysia.

The Malaysia-Indonesia efforts to standardise the technical terms is a follow-up of the culminating success achieved by the two countries on a standard spelling system in August 1972. In the context of the Language Agreement between Malaysia and Indonesia, standardisation of Bahasa Malaysia in the field of technical terms is of two levels: one is at the national level and the other is at the supranational level.

The standardisation of technical terms is in itself part of language standardisation. From the point of view of theoretical linguistics, technical terms are a set of lexical items whose distribution in usage is restricted to particular registers only. As such is the case, the standardisation of technical terms constitute the standardisation of the elements that compose lexical terms. As a technical term does not always consist of a word per se, but may also be represented by a sequence of words in the form of reduplications, compounds and phrases, the elements of a technical term are the phonemes and the words. Coupled with this, the construction of a technical term can either consist of the construction of a word or that of a phrase. Hence the coining and

the standardisation of technical terms from the language standardisation point of view means:

- (a) the standardisation of the phonological system of the language which is interrelated with the standardisation of the spelling system;
- (b) the standardisation of the grammar of the language.

The standardisation of the phonological system and that of the spelling system is said to be interrelated with one another due to the fact that the spelling system being a visual system should represent as accurate a picture as it can in visual symbols the phonological aspects of the language concerned. It is not possible to work towards a standardised spelling system without first reaching an agreement on the acceptables and the non-acceptables in a phonological system of a language. This has been proven in the efforts to have a standardised spelling system.

The absence of standardised phonological and spelling systems proved to be the greatest obstacle in the smooth flow of the coining of technical terms in Bahasa Malaysia in the years 1956 - 1972. The obstacle was manifested in the outright unwillingness of the parties concerned in the coining of the technical terms, to accept any word whose phonological realisation showed any little sign of 'UnMalayness'. Hence, phonological innovations in the form of new loan phonemes, new sequences and new distribution types even of native Malay phonemes were shunned at. As technical terms in the various sciences were something new to the Malay language not only in their existence per se but also in the concepts they uphold, it was not an easy task looking for their equivalents in the Malay language.

Linguistic purism is an attitude unnatural to any language society especially one whose members are virtually all the time in contact with members of other language societies. Hence, the puristic attitude of certain Malays in Malaysia during the period concerned was contrary to the natural development of a language. Besides that, the puristic trend projecting most prominently in the years 1956 - 1966 was paradoxical to the development that had been undergone by the Malay language since the coming of the Hindus and the Arabs to the Malay Archipelago. The Hindu and Arabic influences in the culture of the Malays had invariably brought about innovations into the Malay phonological system in terms of the introduction of new phonemes and phonological structures from Sanskrit and Arabic. Nevertheless, to the purists of the Malay language, such loan elements and structures were usually Malay due to their long-time membership in the Malay linguistic inventory, such that their existence as loans never surfaced. On the other hand, any inno-

vation that came from English or any other European language was considered an outright violation of the purity of the Malay language. This differential attitude towards Sanskrit and Arabic as against English and other European languages is explicable in terms of the depth of influence that the Hindu and the Arabic civilisations had on the Malay civilisation as a whole, compared to the superficial influence exercised by the Europeans. The Hindu and the Arabic influences are manifested in both material and spiritual culture such that these influences had transformed by way of assimilation from just mere alien elements into ones which were deemed local and indigenous in nature. The European influence never succeeded in going further than the material culture and, later on, the sciences which it brought about to the Malay world. It had never exerted much influence in the Malay life.

The conservative, puristic attitude towards language projected in the coining of technical terms did not go unchallenged. This attitude upheld mostly by Malay school teachers and old writers received opposition from a group of people who opted for necessary innovations in the language. This group consisted of trained linguists whose opinions on the coining of technical terms were supported by the scientists and the professionals in the various fields. However, as the authority for the coining of technical terms was assigned by the government to the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (The Language and Literary Agency) and as the thinking of the Dewan at that time was one of conservatism and purism (not without Sanskrit and Arabic), the language attitude that characterised this group held sway over the coining of technical terms. As such technical terms from foreign languages were as far as possible given their Bahasa Malaysia equivalents by employing various means:

- (a) By looking for the exact or almost exact correspondences in Bahasa Malaysia.
- (b) By resorting to loan-translating or loan-shifting, when (a) failed.
- (c) By adapting the foreign term in such a way that the word sounded really Malay, in the event of the failures of methods (a) and (b).

Method (c) seems very sound as a method of bringing in foreign technical terms into the language but the phonological adaptation of the words such that the alienness did not surface either in pronunciation or in spelling, made the whole process somewhat repulsive to the people involved in the use of the technical terms, namely the scientists and the professionals. This means that when such technical terms were coined and distributed to the public, they received mixed reactions.



The negative reaction was stronger than the positive one. Such was the case that although the technical terms were supposed to be sanctioned by the government's highest language authority, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, only a small percentage of these terms ever entered the technical language currency. Various bodies being unsatisfied with the technical terms issued by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka began creating and issuing their own terms for their purposes. Such bodies were the universities and other institutions of higher learning, the Ministry of Education itself, the publishers and individuals involved in the teaching of the various subjects or in the producing of textbooks for the various subjects. The need for a standardisation of the technical terms was greatly felt but the situation was uncontrollable. The universities, namely the University of Malaya, the National University of Malaysia and Science University of Malaysia attempted and managed to achieve some degree of standardisation in the coining of the technical terms among themselves. Nevertheless, the standardisation at the university level did not solve the major and the most urgent problem the country was facing in the way of scientific terminology, and that was the standardisation at the school level.

The standardisation of the scientific terminology at the level of the schools is considered major and more urgent than that at the university level, because the implementation of the National Language, the Bahasa Malaysia, as the main medium of instruction in the schools has already been under way. At the university level, the full implementation of this language policy is expected to take place only in 1978 for the arts stream and in 1983 for all the streams. The urgency for the standardisation of the technical terms is more so when the important examinations in the school system, or the so-called public examinations, were centrally administered from the Ministry of Education's Examination Syndicate.

As said earlier, the break-through in the standardisation of the scientific terms came about only after the formulation of the common spelling system accepted by both Malaysia and Indonesia. The system allows for certain phonological innovations which facilitated the path towards a more feasible set of technical terms with a greater chance of getting accepted by all sectors in the society.

In the way of the membership of the system of phonemes of Bahasa Malaysia, the common spelling system while confirming the existence of loan-phonemes /z, f, ʃ, x/ (written as z, f, sy and kh), also admits a new member and that is the v phoneme. The admittance of this phoneme represented by the same symbol in the spelling system once and for all removes any consideration in the replacing of this symbol by b or f in



the technical terms in which it is constituted as an element. The decision on either b, f or v for the foreign v especially in the word-final position and the conclusion thereof was always subject for debate in the years previous to the implementation of the common spelling system. Due to the lack of agreement on the choice of b or f for v, certain words came to be spelt in two ways. In the non-final position of a word, the choice falls on v or b, for example, novel, nobel; universiti, unibersiti; akitivit, aktibiti etc. In the word-final position, the choice between b and f was left free to the public. Hence the rise and spread of such forms as positib, positif; negatib, negatif; aktib, aktif etc. With the acceptance of v in the standard spelling system, the problem of its existence in the non-final position of words is solved. The agreement between Malaysia and Indonesia in the rules for the coining of scientific terms confirms that v in such positions will remain v. However, in the final position of a word, the v in foreign terms is replaced by f in Bahasa Malaysia. This is simply due to the fact that in English (from or via which these scientific terms come into Bahasa Malaysia), v is pronounced as an unvoiced consonant in the final position, and Malaysians with English as their second language are generally influenced greatly by the English phonetics in their transfer of foreign terms from the English language.

The syllable structure of Bahasa Malaysia has also undergone innovations recognised by the common spelling system. Such innovations emerge with the recognition of the existence of consonant clusters at the initial and final positions of a word. In the Malay phonological inventory, consonant clusters in the two positions mentioned above were non-existent, while consonant clusters in the medial position were predominantly those of the homorganic nasal-oral type. The influence of Sanskrit and Arabic had added in a few other types of consonant clusters and this process of adding cluster-types became more vigorous with the introduction of scientific terms from foreign languages into Bahasa Malaysia. Even then, previous to the acceptance of the common spelling system certain medial clusters do not seem to have a general acceptance among the users of Bahasa Malaysia. Such clusters are normally those with the structure stop + r, for example, tr and dr. Although the common spelling system confirms the acceptability of these clusters, the spelling of words especially the old loan words with these clusters has not been standardised yet. Such words are sastera or sastra; putera or putra; paderi or padri etc. Nevertheless, new loans, particularly the technical terms, will all be spelt without the schwa in between the components of the clusters.

Initial consonant clusters got introduced into Bahasa Malaysia much later than the medial clusters mentioned above. The first set of these initial clusters were also those with the structure *stop + liquida*. As with the medial clusters discussed above, these clusters also faced two types of treatment; one was that they were left intact, and the other, they became neutralised with the insertion of the schwa in between the components. Hence such examples of non-standardised spelling were found: *proses, peroses; projek, perojek; blok, belok* etc. The common spelling system has played its role in the depopularisation of the insertion of the schwa in between the components of the clusters. As such, at the present moment the spelling of words with initial clusters has been widely accepted.

Many a technical term taken from or via English indicate the presence of consonant clusters in the word-final position. The agreement reached on the common spelling system was rather vague on this. It was only when the Malaysian and the Indonesian committees had their fourth meeting on the coining of technical terms held in Semarang, Central Java, from the 24th to the 26th of June 1974, that definite rules were given in the treatment of consonant clusters in the word-final position. Prior to this, the treatment of such clusters had been variegated stemming from two differing attitudes: one is the conservative attitude, and the other the adaptive attitude. (Cf. Asmah Haji Omar, *Masaalah Konsonan - Rangkap Akhir-Kata Dalam Peristilahan Bahasa Malaysia*, paper submitted to Majlis Bahasa Malaysia-Indonnesia IV, Semarang, Indonesia, 24-26 June, 1974.)

The conservative attitude was an attitude which disapproved of anything that deviated from the phonological system that was supposed to be purely the variation of Malay untarnished by any outside influence. When this attitude became the rule, every effort was made to neutralise every final consonant cluster by any of these two methods: -

- (1) By deleting one or more of the components such that only one single consonant remained.
- (2) By inserting a vowel in between the components of the clusters. (See Asmah Haji Omar 1974)

With the first method, it was seen that at times it was the first component that underwent deletion, at other times, it was the second component. Cluster reduction by the deletion of the first or the second component of the cluster was done according to the fancy of the user involved. He will drop one or the other of the consonants based on his euphonic perception. Hence, there arose examples like the ones following: -

- (a) Those indicating the deletion of the first component.

ENGLISH		BAHASA MALAYSIA
<i>uniform</i>	→	unifom
<i>modern</i>	→	moden
<i>passport</i>	→	paspot
<i>import</i>	→	impot

- (b) Those which indicate the deletion of the second component.

ENGLISH		BAHASA MALAYSIA
<i>communist</i>	→	komunis
<i>accountant</i>	→	akauntan
<i>novelist</i>	→	nobelis
<i>variant</i>	→	varian
<i>consonant</i>	→	konsonan

The examples show that the deletion of the first component occurred if this component was represented by *r*. Otherwise deletion affected the second component of the cluster.

The second method of cluster reduction which usually involved the insertion of the schwa vowel was based on the phonetic realisation of the consonant clusters concerned. Hence the change from English to Bahasa Malaysia for certain words as shown below: -

ENGLISH		BAHASA MALAYSIA
<i>communism</i>	→	komunizem
<i>film</i>	→	filem

At one time the presence of the schwa vowel in closed final syllables was frowned at, namely by those who wanted to protect the purity of Malay phonology. As such, the schwa was replaced by *a* to form such words as *komunizam*, *filam* etc. The passing of time has shown that cluster reduction such as represented in the types described above is not favoured, particularly by those who are directly involved in the usage of the technical terms.

Adaptive attitude in the context of the coining of technical terms means the attitude which is open to innovation when the situation demands it. This means that whilst the rules of the Malay phonology form the guiding principles in the coining of the technical terms, priority should also be given to the need for a suitable scientific terminology which can be accounted for in terms of their linguistic constructions as well as in terms of their suitability in the context of the particular sciences in which their usage is most expected. This adaptive attitude entails the formulation of phonological rules in the treatment of the word-final consonant clusters. Without such rules, standardisation of this aspect of language will not be achieved.

The acceptance of the foreign consonant clusters in their various distributions have undoubtedly altered the syllable structure of Bahasa Malaysia. The agreement between Malaysia and Indonesia has indirectly endorsed the acceptance of the change in the syllable structure in the phonologies of both Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia. Nevertheless, the change in the syllable structure is not wholly due to the receptive attitude towards the foreign consonant clusters but is also brought about by a new type of phonological distribution given to an inventory phoneme. The schwa phoneme in the Bahasa Malaysia phonological inventory had never before functioned as the syllable nucleus in the closed final syllable of a word. Certain loan words indicate the presence of this vowel with the function mentioned above. Examples are *sistem*, *introvert*, *komputer* etc. The presence of such words in the Bahasa Malaysia of today indicates an innovative process going on in the Bahasa Malaysia phonology. This particular innovative process, as was the case with the consonant clusters, has facilitated the task of adapting the foreign technical terms and has paved the smooth path towards the standardisation of language. Previous to this, the schwa in the closed word-final syllable of scientific terms received various kinds of treatment. On one hand, the vowel in the Bahasa Malaysia technical term remained intact in the position it has been occupying before entering Bahasa Malaysia. On the other hand, the vowel underwent a replacement by some other vowel which in Bahasa Malaysia was allowed to function as the nucleus of the closed final syllable of a word. This vowel was either *a* or *i*. Thus the word *system*, when taken into Bahasa Malaysia was spelt in two different ways: *sistem* and *sistim*. The word *computer* likewise had two different orthographic representations: *komputer* and *komputar*.

As the great majority of the technical terms existing in Bahasa Malaysia are loanwords, it can be said that the admission of such words into Bahasa Malaysia had to be governed by rules of phonology and graphology such that the scientific terminology can be standardised. For this purpose, a rule or a set of rules can be formulated following certain phonological characteristics, and these rules can be the basis for the coining or adapting of technical terms. However, loan words especially when taken in great bulk can invade the recipient language with numerous alien phonological characteristics. While the making of a set of rules for each characteristic is possible, the task of accomplishing the sets of characteristics with sets of rules is a tedium that should be avoided whenever possible. The entire process can be rendered practical by having a general rule which will make the formulation of rules for certain characteristics necessary.

Bahasa Malaysia had, before the co-operation with Indonesia on the question of scientific terminology, already got a rule like the one mentioned, and this rule originated in the coining of the scientific terms by the University of Malaya. This rule stated that in the adapting of technical terms from the international scientific vocabulary, priority should be given to the visual representation of such terms rather than their phonetic renderings. (Asmah Haji Omar 'Some Rules for the Coining of Technical Terms in Bahasa Malaysia', *Nusantara. Journal of the Arts and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, (Kuala Lumpur), No. 1, January 1972, p.44-55). This rule was made to ensure that the scientific terms in Bahasa Malaysia would not be too far apart from their counterparts in the international vocabulary, when they appear in their orthographic representation. To be sure there would occur certain orthographic discrepancies between the Malaysian terms and those of the international vocabulary and other modern languages, but the differing elements have an explicit relationship in the sense that there is a high degree of transparency in their orthographic correspondence. The following correspondences illustrate the close relationship in terms of visual representation of technical terms in the various languages: -

A. BAHASA MALAYSIA	ENGLISH
geologi	<i>geology</i>
geografi	<i>geography</i>
prisma	<i>prism</i>
oksigen	<i>oxygen</i>
hidrogen	<i>hydrogen</i>
nitrogen	<i>nitrogen</i>
katalog	<i>catalogue</i>

Before the rule which gives priority to the visual representation of the technical terms came into the fore, the adapting of technical terms into Bahasa Malaysia was based mainly on their phonetic realisation in English. As such, the Bahasa Malaysia counterparts of those technical terms were given orthographic appearances which rendered the facility of pronouncing them with quite a high degree of similarity to the English pronunciation of them.

The priority given to the phonetics of English for the technical terms and the rule of the spelling of these terms stipulating that it should reflect the English version of pronunciation, gave rise to orthographic representations of those terms which had a very low degree of similarity with their orthographic representations not to say of other languages, but even of English itself. And this method of adapting foreign technical terms had brought into Bahasa Malaysia words like

the following:

B. BAHASA MALAYSIA	ENGLISH
jeoloji	<i>geology</i>
prizam	<i>prism</i>
oksijan	<i>oxygen</i>
haiderojan	<i>hydrogen</i>
naitrojan	<i>nitrogen</i>
ketelog	<i>catalogue</i>
skil	<i>scale</i>
maikerofilam	<i>microfilm</i>
sepiar	<i>sphere</i>
saikoloji	<i>psychology</i>

Although Malaysians involved in the various disciplines are mostly people who are proficient in English, the orthographical renderings in Bahasa Malaysia for terms like the ones given in the table above prove to be a visual repulsion. The reaction of scientists, academicians and other people in the field towards such terms led to the rule emphasising the importance of the visual representation of the technical terms above their phonetic realisations. Indeed, standardisation is easier achieved in the written language than in the spoken one, and communication between scientists either in their own national milieu or across national boundaries is largely via the written language. This rule was accepted by both Malaysia and Indonesia at the Majlis Bahasa Malaysia-Indonesia II, held in Puntjak Pass, Jakarta, August 13-15, 1973.

Language standardisation in the context of a scientific terminology is largely the standardisation of its phonological and orthographical systems. This is because what is important in dealing with technical terms is the transparency of their spelling, and spelling is but a visual representation of the phonology of those terms. However, as the technical terms are words and phrases which are units of grammar, the standardisation of these units as well as the morphemes is also necessary for the purpose of attaining a standard terminology of the sciences.

The bound morphemes in Bahasa Malaysia consist of the prefixes and the suffixes. These morphemes have shown quite a high degree of standardisation in their usage in the written language or in formal spoken language. Standardisation as far as the bound morphemes are concerned in the coining of technical terms mainly concerns the treatment of the loan affixes.

The entrance of loan affixes into Bahasa Malaysia, particularly those which came together with the technical terms, had been quite haphazard. The presence of some of these loan affixes in Bahasa Malaysia are justifiable, while that of the others are not. The first

category of the loan affixes mentioned above consists of those affixes which do not have any counterparts in the Bahasa Malaysia inventory to convey the very concepts borne by them, while in the second category are those affixes which have one-to-one correspondences in the bound morphemes in Bahasa Malaysia in terms of their semantic functions.

Technical terms happen to consist of affixes taken mainly from the Greek and the Latin sources. These affixes, due to their association with scientific concepts throughout the centuries, seem in certain cases to be identified with the language of sciences. In this way, such affixes prove that their existence can be regarded as indispensable regardless of their language contexts. Examples of this are -ism, pra- (Latin *prae-*), pro-, anti-, sub-, supra-, super- etc.

Such bound morphemes historically entered Bahasa Malaysia as parts of complex words. As time went by, they were detached from the constructions which contained them for the purpose of using them with native word-stems to form new terms. Such being the case, it can be said that these morphemes became loan morphemes in Bahasa Malaysia in their own right. This is of course different from the situation in which the loan bound morphemes entered Bahasa Malaysia solely as part of the whole complex word. This is to say that these morphemes have so far not been detached from the word-stems to be attached to other stems in Bahasa Malaysia for the formation of new words. Examples of such morphemes are as follows: bi-, di-, dia-, mono-, multi-, -logi (English *logy*), intra-, extra-, ab-, etc. As these morphemes have been brought in as parts of loan words and not within their own right, they cannot be considered as loan affixes. Nevertheless, the terminologists are very much in the know of the concepts they bear. Because of this, there had been attempts to produce equivalents for them in pure Bahasa Malaysia or in Sanskritized Bahasa Malaysia. The morpheme *bi-* as in *bicep*, *bilingual*, etc. had had equivalents given to them in *dua* and *dwi-*. These so-called Bahasa Malaysia counterparts are used to refer to the concept borne by *di-*. The correspondence *dua* (full word) is the native Bahasa Malaysia word for *two*, while the correspondence *dwi-* is a loan prefix from Sanskrit. Hence, it is found that the determination for the Bahasa Malaysia equivalent for *bi-* and *di-* has been left to the fancy of the various terminologists in the face of the two possibilities mentioned above. The prefix *bi-* is sometimes translated as *dua* and sometimes as *dwi-*. The same case applies to *di-*. The following examples serve to illustrate the point just made.

<i>bilingual</i>	-	dwibahasa ( <i>bi</i> = <i>dwi</i> , <i>lingual</i> = <i>bahasa</i> )
<i>biconcave</i>	-	dwicekung ( <i>concave</i> = <i>cekung</i> )

<i>biconvex</i>	-	dwicembung ( <i>convex</i> = cembung)
<i>bisexual</i>	-	berjantina dua ( <i>sex</i> = jantina)
<i>dicotyledon</i>	-	duakotiledon ( <i>cotyledon</i> = kotiledon)
<i>diatomic</i>	-	dwiatom ( <i>atom</i> = atom)

There are cases analogous to the above where this lack of standardisation ultimately led the terminologists to decide once and for all on the adaptation of the foreign affix. A good example is the case of *-logy* and *-ics* both of which refer to the specific sciences. At one time, *-logy* was translated into Bahasa Malaysia as *kaji* (a native word meaning *to study, to analyse*) and *-ics* as *ilmu* (an Arabic loan word meaning *science*). Hence, *biology, geology, sociology, anthropology, morphology* and *phonology* became *kajihayat, kajibumi, kajimasyarakat, kajimanusia, kajimorfem* and *kajibunyi* respectively in Bahasa Malaysia. On the other hand, *linguistics, economics, physics* and *phonetics* became *ilmu bahasa, ilmu ekonomi, ilmu fizik* and *ilmu bunyi*. The early terminologists of Bahasa Malaysia strove to maintain the semantic difference between *-logy* and *-ics* ignoring the fact that in the present-day interpretation of these morphemes, the only differences between them lie in their phonological realisation and their historical origins and not in their semantics. To these terminologists, the terms prefixed by *kaji* were not sciences (*ilmu*) but consist only of analyses, whereas those with *ilmu* were actual *sciences*. Hence, *biology, geology, etc.* as the interpretation went at the time, were not considered as sciences. However, the translations for *-logy* and *-ics* and the interpretation that went with them proved to be confusing. People became confounded in the use of them. In the confusion, one morpheme came to be used in place of another and vice versa. Thus *linguistics* which normally would be translated as *ilmu bahasa* were at times given the translation *kajibahasa*. This lack of standardisation was greatly felt and deplored, and as a result of this a decision was made to take over the foreign terms as they were with certain phonological and orthographical changes wherever necessary to fit with the system of phonology and orthography of Bahasa Malaysia. Standardisation in this aspect was achieved, as *morphology, phonology, sociology, biology, physics, phonetics, linguistics, etc.* came to be known in the Bahasa Malaysia terminology as *morfologi, fonologi, sosiologi, biologi, fizik, fonetik, lingustik, etc.*

Earlier on, mention was made on the presence of certain loan morpheme in Bahasa Malaysia whereas their admission was not justifiable. The unjustifiability of the presence of such morphemes in Bahasa Malaysia



is due to the fact that Bahasa Malaysia has already been in possession of morphemes which convey aptly the concepts borne by the foreign morphemes. A good example of such a Bahasa Malaysia morpheme is the discontinuous affix *pe - an*, which is a nominal morpheme with the meaning *process of ...*, *act of ...*, as in *penyatuan* which means *the act of uniting; unification of*. This word is derived from the root *satu*, meaning *one*.

Foreign technical terms which denote the concept mentioned above bear the compound affix *-isation* if they come from the English source, or *-isatie* if they come from the Dutch source. The early trend in Malaysia was to make use of the *pe - an* by affixing it to the foreign base-word, thus giving rise to words like *penstandardan* for the equivalent of *standardisation*. However, later on the wind of influence from Indonesia seemed to blow stronger and as a result, *standardisasi* (for *standardisation*) was taken over by Bahasa Malaysia. In general, it can be argued that this morpheme *-isasi* from *-isatie* did not come into Bahasa Malaysia in its own right, but it came as part of whole words. Other examples of such words are *urbanisasi* (= *urbanisation*), *ionisasi* (= *ionisation*), *nasalisasi* (= *nasalisation*), *modernisasi* (= *modernisation*) and so on. Nevertheless not long ago, a new word cropped up in a speech of a very eminent personality in Malaysia, which indicated the abstraction of the morpheme *-isasi* such that its entry into Bahasa Malaysia was made in its own right just like the Sanskrit *dwi-*, the Latin *pta-* and so on. This particular word was formed from the Malay root *bandar* town, *urban* suffixed by *-isasi*, to mean *urbanisation*, and it took the form of *bandarisasi*.

However, the present trend in Malaysia and even in Indonesia is to return to *pe - an*. This reaffirmation of *pe - an* in technical terms will doubtlessly make those terms more acceptable to the people of both countries. From the linguistic point of view, *-isasi* is an unnecessary addition while from the layman's point of view, this suffix increases the degree of 'foreignness' in the technical terms.

In this connection, mention can also be made of the ending *-si* which occurs in abstract nouns of the loan technical terms. This ending is taken via Bahasa Indonesia from the Dutch language *-tie* which is cognate with the English *-tion*. Like the *-isasi*, the ending *-si* enters Bahasa Malaysia through Bahasa Indonesia as part of the whole word, not as a morpheme in its own right. However, the ending came to be popularised in Malaysia after 1967, that is after the resumption of the diplomatic relations between Malaysia and Indonesia which previous to that was in political 'konfrontasi' with each other. This resumption in the diplomatic relations between the two countries paved the way for the resump-

tion of talks on language problems, and at that time the problem was specifically the common spelling system. This is not to say that the Malaysians accept the ending *-si* with complaisance. The prejudice against this ending is still there but the degree has been reduced to a lower level. Previous to 1967, there was a marked opposition to this ending. Malaysians, being more familiar to the English language than to the Dutch language were more in favour of *-syen*, the Malaysianised version of *-tion*. Hence *television* which at its introduction in 1963 was known as *talibisi* was promptly changed to *talivisyen*. But in the field of the sciences, the people involved seemed to prefer *-si*, may be for various reasons; among those are (1) the economicity of *-si* compared to *-syen*, (2) the absence of any loan phoneme in *-si* as against *-syen* which contains the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] represented by *sy*, and this phoneme is certainly alien to the non-English-educated Malays, and (3) the distribution of the schwa vowel in *syen*, which does not comply with the rules of the Malay phonology. The three factors mentioned above are felt by most users of Bahasa Malaysia, and this realisation could have been a factor in the withdrawal of *-syen* in favour of *-si*. This usage has now been standardised. Thus we see that standardisation can be attained by linguistic as well as practical considerations.

In its effort to acquire technical terms for Bahasa Malaysia, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka used to resort to the formation of acronyms. The creation of acronyms can and has caused a lot of chaos in terminology, especially when the acronyms were coined according to the fancy of its creator or creators. This means that the syllables of the acronyms could be juggled around until some nice sounding word emerges. This total lack of rule for the creation of acronyms has been responsible for the chaos this group of lexical items has to offer to Bahasa Malaysia. The flow of acronyms if left unchecked can abort the process of standardisation. The formulation of a rule or rules for acronyms is not easy, as one of the features of acronyms lies not only in its transparency which reflects the words from which syllables are detached in the acronym creation, but also in its euphonic appeal. An acronym can be formed by a simple rule which says, for instance, that its components should consist of the first syllables of the words from which the concept borne by the acronym is derived. If the combination of such syllables prove to be aesthetically viable, the acronym is a good one and can linguistically be accounted for. On the other hand, if the aesthetic attraction does not accompany the syllable amalgamation, then the rule has to be violated. And many an acronym have violated this rule. Because of this, the standardisation of the formation of acronyms is difficult to achieve, and as such the formation of acronyms should be

discouraged.

The standardisation of the syntactical aspect of the technical terms has been better reinforced all these years, compared to all the other aspects mentioned, viz. orthographical, phonological and morphological. The syntactical aspect that matters in technical terms comprises the relationship between components which are words or/and phrases. Word-order in Bahasa Malaysia can be said to be more or less rigid. Except for the numeral phrase, word-order in Bahasa Malaysia consists of the structure head - modifier. In the numeral phrase, the order is the reverse of the above. The great awareness of the word-ordering rule has so far prevented this rule from being violated, and as such standardisation in this aspect of technical terms has been maintained.

Single-word technical terms that come from the foreign languages occur in their simple or complex forms. In their complex forms, these technical terms have at least one root-word and one affix. Previously, the terminologists of Bahasa Malaysia created a rule to which they stuck faithfully in the adopting of the foreign technical terms. This rule stated that in the adopting of foreign terms into Bahasa Malaysia, only the root-forms were taken into the language. From these root-forms various derivations could be realised by employing the morphological elements there were in Bahasa Malaysia. Although this rule could be applied to some of the technical terms, its impracticality projected itself in others, such that if the rule were to apply as well in these cases, a large number of technical terms would be long, unwieldy and cumbersome. Besides that, there is of course the age-old problem of not succeeding in getting a one-to-one correspondence between the foreign affix and the Bahasa Malaysia affix.

The word *nasional*, for instance, has been adapted from the English word *national*. If the rule stipulating for the importing of only the root-form applies, then *nasional* is disqualified. The form that qualifies under this rule is *nasion*. The derivation of a word bearing the concept '*national*' from *nasion* and some Malaysian morphological element is not impossible but may not be feasible. The term *perdagangan nasional* for *national trade* would have to be converted to either *perdagangan nasion*, which does not convey the meaning of *perdagangan nasional*. Likewise, *perdagangan bernasion* or *perdagangan nasionan* (with the affixes *ber-* and *-an* respectively) does not project any accuracy in the meaning as borne by *perdagangan nasional*.

The word *morfologi* has been adapted from *morphology*. It is not hard to think what the equivalent of this word would sound like, as the rule under consideration had already been applied in the early 1960s in the search for the Bahasa Malaysia equivalent of this word. The term then

coined was *kajimorfem*. This term was good enough for the layman to equate it to *morphology*, that subsection of grammatical analysis. To the linguist, *morphology* is not confined to the sublevel of grammar mentioned above, but it is also used to refer to the process that takes place in the formation of a word. The explanation for this process in Bahasa Malaysia is *proses pembentukan kata*, which is quite lengthy to qualify for the status of a technical term. There was no other alternative that the linguist could think of but *morfologi*, and this has been the term used by them to convey the two meanings conveyed by *morphology*.

The case of words with the ending *-si* discussed in the previous pages is also a good illustration of the non-feasibility of restricting the borrowing of technical terms to the root-word only. The words *inflasi* (*inflation*), *fleksi* (*flection*, *inflection*), etc. do pose a problem in the determination of their root-forms. This effort may even lead to a more hazardous state of affairs in the field of terminology building for Bahasa Malaysia. The consensus between Malaysia and Indonesia to adopt a form (root-form or complex form) which proves feasible for the derivation of technical terms, will leave the terminologists concerned to use their discretion in facing the various foreign terms. The constant communication between the Malaysian terminologists and their counterparts in Indonesia will forestall any danger of the de-standardisation of the technical terms of that nature.

The short-cut way towards a standardised terminology for Bahasa Malaysia is to accept the foreign terms, whatever they are, and have their phonological appearances adapted to Bahasa Malaysia. This implies that Bahasa Malaysia is not capable of expressing by way of its own linguistic elements any technical concept there be. While this implication is false, it also sensitivises the linguistic pride of the Bahasa Malaysia speech community as well as that of the nation.

Bahasa Malaysia just like any other natural language is endowed with a wealth of vocabulary items which convey technical concepts provided that the domains in which the concepts are used are not alien to the Malay life. As such, terms for woodcarpentry, boatbuilding, weaving, smithery, rice-farming, etc. are already in existent in the Malay language and had been lying in wait for the elevation of their status as common day-to-day words to that of scientific terms. But the sophisticated field of the various sciences and technology are very new to the Malay world, and as such the type of language used in this field and the concepts it bears are as alien to the urban educated Malays as they are to the rural folks. To look into the Malay dialects and the genetically related indigenous languages may prove to be a time-consuming and futile effort. For such terms, it would be worth-

while just adapting the foreign terms.

The endeavour of the early Malaysian terminologists in the late 1950s and early 1960s to look back to the Malay world for every single term and failing that to look to Indonesian and at the last resort to the Anglo-American vocabulary had brought about negative results, in the sense that words taken from the Malay dialects for the new concepts introduced by science and technology were found unsuitable by the scientists and the professionals. This heralded the birth of doublets in the scientific terminology of Bahasa Malaysia. Despite efforts to iron out differences between the various institutions involved in scientific terminology in Malaysia and between Malaysia and Indonesia, traces of these doublets still remain to be seen or to be in use. There is a great possibility that the technical forms favoured by the scientists and the professionals will win the day. When this happens doublets will fade away and there is hope for a better reinforcement of the standardisation of the technical terms. With this, the implementation of the national language, Bahasa Malaysia, as the main medium of instruction will not be obstructed any longer by the lack of a good and standardised scientific terminology. The acceptability of the technical terms by the language users, especially the scientists and the professionals, bears great significance towards making Bahasa Malaysia a language of science.



## STANDARDISATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEWSPAPERS' BAHASA INDONESIA

Hans Kaehler

Languages are something living as far as they adapt themselves to the requirements of modern developments by adding new words to the original vocabulary and old archaic words are not used anymore (for instance as the result of cultural change or word taboos) or are replaced by other ones (for instance by borrowing from adjacent languages or dialects). The syntax of a language almost never changes considerably (creole and mixed languages excepted) though it may be affected by 'loan translations' from foreign languages.

Here we are examining the Bahasa Indonesia, the 'Indonesian Language', i.e. the National Language of the Republic of Indonesia, as it is used in modern newspapers with regard to its standardisation and its development. These investigations, made by a non-Indonesian, are based on the analysis of Indonesian newspapers from different parts of the Republic, viz. from Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi. For a stranger, not living in the country concerned, may notice things which possibly are not or almost not observed by those who use the language as mother-tongue which they use and hear daily. From afar one often has a more critical view on things than from nearby.

The Bahasa Indonesia which is based on 'classical' Malay (later the lingua franca) and on the vernacular of peoples in Sumatra and in the Riau Archipelago developed or was developed into the National Language of the Republic of Indonesia mainly between 1940 and 1949-50. Before all between 1945 and 1950 a special committee had the task to adapt its vocabulary to the requirements of modern times. New words were mostly borrowed from the Dutch language with which the intellectual leaders (of that time) were familiar. These borrowings from the Dutch language were adapted to Malay phonology and morphologically they mostly are treated like Malay words. As is well known, borrowing from foreign non-



Indonesian languages (from Sanskrit and other Indian languages, from Arabic and from Portuguese) was familiar in Malay and in other Indonesian languages since many centuries before. In the thirties it was not unusual that in Malay newspapers Malay sentences were only understandable if they were translated into Dutch first, because Malay syntax was at least partly influenced by the syntax of the Dutch language. The Indonesian journalists were automatically influenced by the structure of the Dutch language which at that time was used by some of them as colloquial speech. But afterwards the basic structure became a Malay one again.

Newspapers' Bahasa Indonesia of recent times which is uniformly written with the new alphabet, is generally more or less homogeneous as to its structure. But they show certain tendencies (trends) as to their vocabularies. They are as follows:

1. Loan-words from the Dutch language seem to occur in a greater number in Sumatran and Sulawesi newspapers than in Javanese ones. The reason probably is that Jakarta as the capital of the Republic has more direct connections with abroad and with foreigners than Sumatra and Sulawesi. Therefore at Jakarta Dutch loan-words are more easily replaced by English or American ones. Some examples are: *knalpot* (Dutch *idem*) *silencer*, *inflasi* (Dutch *inflatie*) *inflation*.

2. Loan-words from English (or American) are increasing - as also in German newspapers - on a large scale. They mostly concern words referring to sports, technics (nuclear research) and economics because of their international use, for instance *hook kanan* *right hook*, *target*, *gol* (English: *goal*), *masterplan*, *problim* (English: *problem*), *crossarms*. But they concern other words also which are frequently used in the daily language, for instance *festival*, *hobby*, *gap*, *menu makanan* (English: *menu*). Verbs are constructed with Indonesian affixes, for instance *di/klaim/=kan* *to be claimed*. In Sumatran newspapers new borrowings sometimes are explained (in brackets) if the Indonesian spelling varies from the original one, for instance *koching* (*coaching*), or if they are used for the first time, they are explained in Bahasa Indonesia, for instance *shooting* (*pemotretan; penembakan; perburuan*). Loan-translations from English are very rare, for instance *kiri-luar* (English: *out-side left* (reversed order of the words)), *pencakar langit* *sky-scraper*.

Principally loan-words from Dutch are and were borrowed by the oral way, while those from English (or American) are taken over by way of script, i.e. they usually are written in the English (American) way (in spite of the divergent pronunciation).

3. Borrowings from Javanese, of course, are more frequently to be found in newspapers from Java than in those from Sumatra or Sulawesi.



In all of them for instance the plural article *para* (*concerning persons*) is to be met with in place of the iteration of the noun; the same holds good for political terms. If borrowings from Javanese occur in newspapers outside of Java one may suppose then that the journalist concerned either has lived for some time in Jakarta or that it is an official term.

The same holds good for loan-words from the Omong Jakarta which, of course, are to be met with in Jakarta newspapers and only exceptionally in those of other parts of the archipelago.

4. Loan-words for modern terms sometimes are borrowed (in newspapers of all three areas mentioned) from Sanskrit or from Latin. Sanskrit loan-words generally are borrowed via Javanese, for instance *dasawarsa decennial*, *adiaksa* = *adhyaksa judge* (Sskrt.: *adhy-aksha an inspector, superintendent*), *payudara a woman's breast* (Sskrt.: *payodhara idem*), *sutradara movie or play director* (Sskrt.: *sūtradhāra a stage-manager*).<sup>1</sup> From Latin are borrowed or 'latinised', for instance *dies natalis*, *civitas academica*; *prioritas priority*, *kapasitas capacity*.

5. Now and then some slang expressions are to be found which are explained by the common word in brackets, for instance boat *narcotics*, *nis-san* (in place of *ganja*) *hashish hemp*.

6. Loan-words from Malaysian Malay begin to be borrowed in Jakarta newspapers, for instance *kawasan* (B.I. *daerah*) *region, area*; *meng/galak/kan* (B.I. *menggiatkan*) *to encourage*. That is understandable because the political, cultural and linguistic relations between both states have been resumed since several years, and a common alphabet has been accepted and is used now.

7. Innovations on the morphological level in Indonesian newspapers are certain affix combinations which did not exist in 'classical' Malay, for instance *ke/ber--an*, *pem/ber--an* and *ke/pe- + prenasalisation -an*, for instance *pemberangkatan*, *keberangkatan departure*; *keberhasilan success*; *kepemimpinan leadership*. Javanese newspapers sometimes mark the plural of things by reduplication of the first syllable and weakening of every vowel in this syllable to *e*, and suffixing *-an*, for instance *rerumputan grasses* (from *rumput grass*), *dedaunan leafage* (from *daun leaf*). This kind of plural is used in the Sundanese language.

<sup>1</sup>In newspapers and in the daily language the Sanskrit possessive suffix *-vān-* and the Sanskrit *mahā great* have been re-introduced as productive means of forming words, for instance *sejarawan historian*, *gerilyawan guerrilla*; *mahabesar very great*, *mahabiskop archbishop*. Both of them are added to words of Sanskrit origin as well as other words.

In Javanese and other newspapers like in colloquial Bahasa Indonesia in the interior of Java the active verbal prefix *me* is frequently omitted.

8. Another common feature of modern Indonesian newspapers is the use of a very great number of abbreviations which, of course, was and is influenced by American newspapers. Their number is so great (and almost every day new ones are to be found) that in 1970 a voluminous but not complete *Glossary of Abbreviations and Acronyms used in Indonesia* was published. Some examples are: *Wib* : *Waktu Indonesia Barat West Indonesian time*; *Laksus Pangkok Kamtibda Aceh* : *Pelaksana khusus keamanan ketertiban Daerah Aceh Special executor of security and order of the district Aceh*.

There seems to be a certain danger that the vocabulary of the Bahasa Indonesia newspapers may become unintelligible to the common Indonesian reader who is not familiar with the English language by the considerable increase of borrowings from English (or American). Whereas the numerous loan-words from Sanskrit, Arabic and Portuguese have been adopted into the vernacular language since centuries, the very great number of new ones which is daily enlarged must be learnt within a very short time. Therefore it is understandable that just lately, in the Indonesian television, popular courses are given by an Indonesian linguist concerning the adaptation of the Bahasa Indonesia to modern times and proposals to possibilities of its development. Wide consideration is given to them by Indonesians who are admonished to use their language with more discipline.

In order to understand the development of the modern Bahasa Indonesia it is good to call to our mind some important dates referring to its history: As is known, Malay and the later Bahasa Indonesia are based on 'classical' Malay and on the vernacular of peoples in Sumatra and in the Riau Archipelago. In 1928 young Indonesian nationalists demanded, among other things, that their country (in those days the Dutch East Indies) be given 'one language, the Bahasa Indonesia'. Malay (was) developed into the Bahasa Indonesia before all between 1944 and 1950, after it was accepted and acknowledged by the Japanese, besides Japanese, as the official language of the archipelago occupied by them. In 1942 they founded the 'Komisi Bahasa Indonesia' (Bahasa Indonesia Committee). Its task was to change the Malay language (*Marei-go*), i.e. the lingua franca, into a modern language, namely the Bahasa Indonesia (*Indonesia-go*) by providing the Indonesian language with an adequate and uniform technical and scientific terminology. In addition it was to examine the vocabulary of colloquial speech and make a discriminate selection from it; and finally it was to create a modern and uniform

grammar of the Bahasa Indonesia. The first technical terms thus chosen were then published in the official Japanese government papers. The Indonesian members of the committee principally had the same linguistic problems which their successors had in later times. Up to 1942 Dutch (besides Malay) had been the official language of the Dutch East Indies' government as well as the language of modern culture in Indonesia. Immediately after the Japanese occupation ended it was prohibited (like English, too). Therefore a vacuum ensued since the school-books were all written in Dutch. Nor did the Indonesian teachers at these schools know enough Malay to be able to translate the text-books into that language. And the few Indonesians who commanded sufficient knowledge of both, Dutch and Malay, had to face the difficult problem that quite often there were no Indonesian equivalents for Dutch technical and scientific terms. The result was that almost every teacher tried to do his best by coining his own words for such terms. The same happened in other fields, as for instance the administration, legislation and in various professions. Frequently it was difficult to find a common usage of originally Indonesian words which had been taken over from different regional languages where they had other meanings. At the time the Japanese occupation came to an end, about 7,000 new words had already been accepted into the Bahasa Indonesia. After the proclamation of the Republic, in 1945 and 1946 the Kaum Pemuda ('Youngsters') prohibited the use of foreign languages, but yet English became more and more favoured. In 1948 in Yogyakarta the Balai Bahasa ('House of language') was founded with a section 'Bahasa Indonesia'. In 1950 this Balai Bahasa was split into inter alia, the 'Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya' (Institute for Language and Culture) which was attached to the Fakultas Sastra (Faculty of Letters) of the Universitas Indonesia at Jakarta. The Inspeksi Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Daerah (Commission for the Bahasa Indonesia and Regional Languages) was founded in 1954, and the Panitia Pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia (Committee for the Development of the Bahasa Indonesia) was called into being in 1972. President Suharto in his speeches of August 16, 1972, and of 1974 (in Parliament) called on the Indonesians to use a correct Bahasa Indonesia and to use Indonesian and no foreign words in it. The Lembaga Bahasa Nasional (Institute for the National Language) at Jakarta investigates the grammar of modern Bahasa Indonesia and possibilities of its instruction, and it draws up an inventory of scholars of the Bahasa Indonesia.

All these recent efforts give evidence of the fact that the modern Bahasa Indonesia is in a certain crisis which may not only be seen from the use of the Bahasa Indonesia in the mass-media but also in

colloquial Bahasa Indonesia. The investigation into the use of modern Bahasa Indonesia and its development is given high priority by the Republic.

Besides the aforementioned peculiarities of the use of modern Bahasa Indonesia by Indonesian newspapers, the Indonesian press again and again criticises or publishes critics on certain characteristics of the use of the Bahasa Indonesia which are to be observed in recent times. The following critics come to the fore:

1. Indonesian newspapers show great deficiencies in the structure of Bahasa Indonesia sentences, in the correct use of words as well as pre- and suffixes.
2. Beginning from the sixties correct Bahasa Indonesia is paid less attention.
3. Only a small part of the more than 300,000 words investigated or newly accepted by the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional is used by the Indonesian people.
4. 50 to 60% of the Indonesians do not speak Bahasa Indonesia correctly.
5. Indonesian intellectuals prefer words from foreign languages which are not understood by the common people.
6. Some technical terms taken from foreign languages are translated into Bahasa Indonesia differently by local scholars, for instance Bahasa Indonesia *lempung* means at the Gajah Mada University, Yogya, *clay*, at Bogor *loam*. English *silt loam* is translated in Bandung by *geluh berlanau*, in Bogor by *lempung berdebu*.

The influx of a very great number of English loan-words, according to Indonesian newspapers, has different reasons, namely:

1. Signs or posters etc. are written in English for foreign tourists (for instance 'keep your city clean!' (at Samarinda), 'Welcome!' (at the airfield at Pangkal Pinang / Bangka), or 'Railway Station' (besides the Indonesian 'Stasiun (from the Dutch language) Kereta Api' (at Gambir Station, Jakarta).
2. Sometimes governmental announcements are published in English for foreign enterprises.
3. Possibly an Indonesian who prefers loan-words from foreign languages or who speaks some foreign language is regarded more learned and of 'higher' standing than a person who does not know a foreign language, i.e. it is a question of prestige. The knowledge of a foreign language may induce him to prefer to speak the foreign language in place of the Bahasa Indonesia.

The criticism on the incorrect or neglected use of the Bahasa Indonesia covers all linguistic fields. The main theme of it seems to

be the high percentage of loan-words in the Bahasa Indonesia, as well those taken from foreign as those taken from regional Indonesian languages. There seem to exist the following Indonesian points of view as to loan-words:

- a) Loan-words used in the daily language which are 'all the mode', but which are not absolutely necessary, should be replaced by Bahasa Indonesia expressions, for instance *shopping centre* or *youth centre* should be called: *pusat belanja* and *gelanggang remaja*. In place of *like it or not*, *of course*, or *problem* the Indonesian *suka atau tidak*; *tentu saja*, or *masalah* (from Arabic!) should be used. But also loan-words from Javanese or from the Omong Jakarta should be avoided. Such foreign words or expressions (from foreign or from regional Indonesian languages) are used by some speakers of Bahasa Indonesia because they do not yet know the equivalent Indonesian term for it, or they like to look more learned. Technical or scientific terms which are received from foreign languages should be taken over. In order to become part of the vocabulary of the Bahasa Indonesia they should be written and pronounced in the Bahasa Indonesia way, that is they should be adapted to the phonological system of the Bahasa Indonesia, for instance *konsep* (Dutch, English *concept*), or *proyek* (Dutch, English *project*) etc.
- b) One should try to replace loan-words from foreign languages by equivalents from regional languages, if they do not exist in the Bahasa Indonesia. If that is not possible, one should try to take them from other languages like Sanskrit or Arabic. But it must be mentioned here that Indonesia does not (yet) have enough scholars who study regional Indonesian languages. Up to now the interest of Indonesian students for this important linguistic field is very small.
- c) Some Indonesians are of the opinion that the Bahasa Indonesia should take over as many (technical and scientific) terms from foreign languages as possible in order to give it a more international vocabulary.

I conclude my paper with some general remarks concerning the Bahasa Indonesia:

1. Malay on which the Bahasa Indonesia is based originally was the mother-tongue only of some people in Sumatra and in the Riau Archipelago. Therefore, for most Indonesians the Bahasa Indonesia was and still is the second language which they must learn in addition to their regional language. And this problem of bilingualism makes it so difficult to develop a modern standard language, because bilingual people, as a rule, (unconsciously) tend to think and to express their thoughts in the mother-tongue first. On the other side, in modern times the use of regional languages decreases in Indonesia because part of the inhabitants of the rural areas where regional languages are spoken uses to settle in towns.

2. The Bahasa Indonesia has proved that it is quite possible to consciously influence the development of a common (national) language in an archipelago with hundreds of regional languages and to guide it into specific directions, provided that country is caught in a crisis and stands in need of leadership, both of which applied to the historical and political circumstances of Indonesia during and shortly after the Japanese occupation. At that time all Indonesians were eager to get a national language because it was a political necessity. The process of language innovation had to be accomplished in a relatively very short time.

3. The very quick development of modern technical sciences created a vast vocabulary of new terms, and the fact that they were published, before all, in English made it necessary for all languages in the world to take them over. Like medical or chemical technical terms these terms mostly are based on Greek or Latin, that is on related languages. Therefore, there were and are no great difficulties for these languages to accept these terms into their respective Indo-European languages, where only a small part of them was used and is understood by the common people while they belong to the special language of scientists or intellectuals. There are almost no problems as to the number and kind of loan-words to be taken over. But for the Indonesians those new terms are words from a quite foreign family of languages with which there do not exist any common linguistic bonds.

4. In all European countries there exist differences between the language of the common people and that of scientists and intellectuals, between the spoken and the written language. That is taken as granted and does not cause any problems there. Besides, for instance in Germany, there exist also dialectical differences. But since Luther the Germans have a common written language which is generally accepted as standard language. And here, I think, we have a main point for the existence of certain difficulties in the modern Bahasa Indonesia, where, up to now, there does not yet exist a common written language. For poets, scientists, teachers etc., and the mass media do not always speak the same Bahasa Indonesia, that is to say, their respective Bahasa Indonesia is more or less individual. Linguistic unification possibly could be reached by creating a standard Bahasa Indonesia which then is to be used and made known by the mass media, by sufficient reading material, and by teaching the correct grammar of it in the schools and universities. Of course, it will take some time to write such a standard grammar of the Bahasa Indonesia and to publish sufficient literature in this standard language. Before all, this linguistic problem must be given high priority so that the people becomes conscious of it and is willing to accept and realise proposals to use a standard Bahasa Indonesia.



## LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION AS A COMPONENT OF LANGUAGE PLANNING: A SUGGESTED TYPOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

Bonifacio P. Sibayan

The inspiration for writing this paper on language standardisation came from two persons. First, Joshua A. Fishman (1974:18) who writes on another aspect of language planning, that of formulation of policies (which may be applicable to language standardisation):

At any rate this most frequently observed aspect of language planning is much in need of systematization and conceptual integration if it is to escape from anecdotalism, historicism or local dimensionalism pure and simple.

The other is Charles Ferguson (1968:32) who writes, and I quote:

The process of language standardization (LS) is not well understood and needs both case studies and attempts at generalizations so that some testable hypotheses can be advanced, but at least two points can be made on the basis of present knowledge. First, there are many paths of standardization and a number of sociolinguistic variables to be investigated in connection with the different paths. Second, in most of the well-known cases of language standardization in Europe since the Renaissance, a number of features keep recurring, although they are not all present in each case: [Here I shall omit the 4 features listed by Ferguson although I may have occasion to refer to some later].

This paper, unlike many papers in this conference, does not report a case study on language standardisation. Rather this is an attempt at a systematic inventory or a typology of the various sociolinguistic variables in the uncharted paths to standardisation. The typology is

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<sup>1</sup>I record my appreciation to Dr. Edilberto P. Dagot, Dean, Graduate School, Philippine Normal College for reading and criticising the paper and to Dr. Ernesto Constantino, Professor of Linguistics, University of the Philippines, who made helpful suggestions on the frames. All shortcomings of the paper are mine, however. Thanks are due Mrs. Mila Arcibal and Miss Evelyn de Guzman for assistance in typing the manuscript.

a tentative one. It is my hope that some hypotheses, no matter how tentatively stated, may come out of the attempt so that studies and refinements may come from them especially with special reference to the standardisation of languages in Southeast Asia.

There are two works on language standardisation devoted to the subject which take practically the same position, the first by the Indian scholar Punya Sloka Ray (1963) and the other by the Estonian Scholar, Valter Tauli (1968).<sup>1</sup> Both consider language as a tool (Ray 1963:11; Tauli 1968:9) and claim that language standardisation should strive to make language efficient for communication purposes. I do not take this position in this paper; I concur with Haugen (1969:930-949; 1971:288) who criticises the position taken by the two scholars that there is much more to language than just being a tool or instrument. Haugen quotes Hjemsløv's definition of language as

the ultimate, indispensable sustainer of the human individual, his refuge in hours of loneliness, when the mind wrestles with existence and the conflict is resolved in the monologue of the poet and the thinker.

With this quotation Haugen cautions us that

These words should be pondered well before one sets forth on a program of either language planning or standardization.

(1971:288)

I take the position that language is more than just a tool. In the discussion that follows, this will be evident in many places.

Finally, before I set out to discuss the suggested typology of language standardisation (LS), a summary of the concept of LS may be appropriate at this point. One of the best summaries, in my opinion, is that set by Joshua A. Fishman who views LS as a societal behaviour towards language. He summarises his views and those of Stewart and Haugen in the following words: (Fishman 1971:288-289)

One of the best known societal behaviors towards language is Standardization, i.e., "the codification and acceptance, within a community of users, of a formal set of norms defining 'correct' usage" (Stewart 1968). Codification is, typically, the concern of such language 'gatekeepers' as scribes, storytellers, grammarians, teachers and writers, i.e., of certain groups that arise in most diversified societies and whose use of language is professional and conscious. Given codification as a goal, this desired 'good' is formulated or presented to all or part of the speech community via such means as grammars, dictionaries, spellers, style manuals, and exemplary texts, whether written or oral. Finally, the acceptance of the formally codified (i.e., the standardized)

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<sup>1</sup>For very pertinent evaluation of the two, see Einar Haugen, *Instrumentalism in Language Planning*. In Rubin and Jernudd, 1971.



variety of a language is advanced via such agencies and authorities as the government, the educational system, the mass media, the religious institutions and the cultural 'establishment'. The standard variety then becomes associated with such institutions, the type of interactions that most commonly occur within them, and the values or goals they represent (Haugen 1966).

I must now try to make the point clear that the foregoing quotation gives us the impression that LS seems to take place apart and ahead of implementation and acceptance.<sup>1</sup> LS actually takes place simultaneously with implementation and acceptance, at least gradual and therefore piecemeal acceptance. One does not wait (at least in the Philippine experience and I suspect in the Indonesian and Malaysian experience, too) for the language to be fully standardised before the results of LS is taken up (implemented) and accepted. The demands of the times where we find ourselves competing in a modern world that puts demands on language do not allow us the leisurely standardisation of our national languages. We must telescope or collapse many processes and it is this condition that makes LS in our societies in great need of systematisation. We must modernise the language, standardise it, and make it acceptable almost all at once. The job is not an enviable one and it will cause many anxieties (for example, on the part of teachers and on the part of the non-native speakers of the language being standardised), and many dislocations. Many people are practically forced to be marginal populations because of language, i.e., those who will never be able to possess the LS for many reasons, many not within their control.

When a nation proceeds to standardise a language, it embarks on a path that must be sustained by hope and powerful motivations - hope that the language will benefit as many citizens as possible and on the other hand reduce the frustration and sadness of those citizens who, because of a combination of circumstances, mostly beyond their control, will not be able to possess the standard language (SL) and therefore will have no access to the gains and privileges that the SL will make possible and accessible. Language Standardisation will therefore result in gains and penalties - for those who possess the SL, many of the good things; for those who do not, many penalties. One of the dimensions and components to be considered by language planners and decision makers should be the reduction of the penalties.

Ray (1963:70) reduces LS into two simple steps: first, the creation of a model for imitation and second, promotion of this model over rival

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<sup>1</sup>See both Ferguson and Haugen, various publications cited in this paper.

models. In that simple paradigm is a world of difficulties.

Take for example that second step - the promotion of the model over rival models. One of the deterrents or blocks to LS is the availability of a language of wider communication (LWC, after Ferguson), for instance, English in the case of the Philippines. Modernisation of aspects of life other than language is carried via English. While it is true that the general society now use Pilipino in much of the oral transactions (actually a type of a mixture - of code switching - of English and Pilipino), the written transactions (including the learning of the subject matter in these fields) are in English. This condition will 'delay' the standardisation of Pilipino. How much delay this will cause may never be measured. Maybe delay is not the right term. This is specially so because now the Philippines is committed to bilingualism - in Pilipino and in English.<sup>1</sup>

It is therefore in this area where planners must look into more intense motivations for LS. The search for viable motivations for language standardisation is one of the most difficult aspects in LS.

Let me now address myself to the typology. Let me start (and this is intentional) with the intended user population (IUP). Sometimes the term target population is used.

The potential users of the LS may either be native speakers of a variety of the L to be standardised or non-native speakers, i.e., speakers of another language (in the Philippines, native speakers of Tagalog or speakers of languages such as Ilocano, Cebuano, Pampango, etc.) Or they may be children, out-of-school youths, or adults.<sup>2</sup>

Now to read the typological frame from left to right. If they are native speakers of a variety of the language to be standardised, they may be speaking a variety that is either dynamic or recessive (for example, speakers of Batangas Tagalog - here used without malice - may be considered speakers of a dynamic brand of T because the brand or variety tends to be perpetuated and speakers are quite proud of their Batangueñoness, whereas those that are near Manila tend to lose their characteristics and adopt the Manila Tagalog which can be defined as neither that of Batangas, nor Bulacan nor of some places in Laguna, say Liliw, for example). Or if they are non-native speakers of T, they

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<sup>1</sup>For the bilingual policy in Philippine education, see Department of Education and Culture Order No. 25, s. 1974.

<sup>2</sup>The importance of programmes for out-of-school youth was emphasised by the administration with the establishment of the Department of Youth and Sports Development on December 10, 1974. The President of the Philippines himself heads this new department pending the appointment of the regular secretary.

may either come from a group that tends to value and perpetuate the first language (for example, Cebuanos and Ilocanos) as opposed to those non-native speakers who speak a language that they do not particularly care to maintain (for example, a number of small language speakers such as those speaking Kankanaey or Ibaloi who do not seem to particularly care for the maintenance of their own language. They speak Ilocano, the regional lingua franca, among themselves).

If the intended user population (IUP) are children, do they come from advantaged or disadvantaged homes; or do they come from the upper, middle, or lower class stratum of the society; or do they come from urban centers of population and have facilities for contact with the L being standardised or from rural areas where no such facilities are available; or do they come from mobile/static populations?

To read the frame using an all-over reading: IUP may be children who are non-native speakers of the L being standardised, who come from disadvantaged homes located in a rural area and rooted (static) to the place. Or they may be children from a first language speaking group that is dynamic in character. A generalisation that may be made out of this description is that the chances of the first group of children of ever possessing the SL is practically nil. Now, that should be a testable hypothesis as Ferguson would put it (see earlier portion of this paper and cf. Ferguson 1968:32).

Take another description using an all-over reading. This is an adult native speaker from a recessive area (most likely from Calamba), of an advantaged family, with an extended educated family, rural (maybe semi-rural is better here), and is mobile. This person's chances of possessing the SL is great. A non-native speaker of the L being standardised under the same circumstances has less chances of ever possessing the SL.

The means of strategies for reaching such varying user populations will have to be different. Again this is a generalisation out of which a testable hypothesis may be formulated.<sup>1</sup>

I shall now treat the institutions/agencies involved in LS. Included in this frame are the 'who' and their characteristics. Please refer to Table B.

Institutions involved in LS may either be doing this consciously,

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<sup>1</sup>The spread hypothesis of Jernudd and Das Gupta (in Rubin and Jernudd, 1971:206) may be refined. A hypothesis may be: The spread of the acceptance of the SL will differ greatly under a number of sociolinguistic and other factors, for example that of geography and means of communication as outlined and suggested in the typological frames.

i.e., deliberately or only unconsciously (non-deliberate). Their activities may be either done on a formal basis, that is with authority, generally from the government or some generally recognised authority; or informally, that is generally on a volunteer-basis.

Also, the activities may either be addressed to (or engaged in/by) the general population or special groups or segments of the society.

Now let us read from the frame. LS may be carried on consciously (deliberately) by the public schools for the general population or by private schools/colleges/universities or academies or institutes for special groups or segments of the population and on a formal (that is, with authority) basis.<sup>1</sup> Or this may be done informally (that is, on a voluntary basis) for the general population by publishing houses or by private organisations for special segments or sections/groups of the society by such organisations as linguistic societies (in the Philippines, the Philippine Association for Language Teaching, the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, the Pambansang Samahan sa Linggwistikang Pilipino, Ink., among others).

On the unconscious level which is marked non-deliberate in this tentative frame, fall the various agencies of the government (here the term domain of language may be appropriate, cf. Fishman, 1966 or Otones and Sibayan, 1969) that are not organised for language purposes but nevertheless use language and often issue their own circulars and memorandums on the use of certain terminologies such as for instance the armed forces; or they write decisions such as the courts and the law; or they issue rules and regulations and/or sermons such as the church. They operate with authority but their products are addressed to special groups or segments of the society and not to the general population. On the informal (voluntary) level are the mass media - newspapers, radio/TV programmes.<sup>2</sup>

Also operating on the unconscious and informal level are those who write professionally in the various disciplines/professions like medicine, law, sociology, psychology, etc. How these writers will be persuaded to write in the new idiom is a problem particularly where there is no tradition for writing such in the present society because of the presence of a language of wider communication - English.

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<sup>1</sup>By formal is meant that with authority from above; for example, the government, the church, etc.

<sup>2</sup>For a scholarly analysis of the language used by the Filipino bilingual, (where the Filipino switches from Tagalog to English or English to Tagalog popularly called mix-mix) see Bautista, Maria Lourdes, 1974. *A Model for Describing the Competence of the Filipino Bilingual*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Philippine Normal College-Ateneo de Manila University Consortium for a Ph.D. in Linguistics. Manila and Quezon City, Philippines.

Let us now look at the probable facilitators or obstacles in LS. We shall refer to Table C. This table is capable of being read in many ways. For example, one can read: Is there a tradition of financing from individual, group or national sources? National may generally be read government. Or what are the traditional values that are in conflict with individual group and national aspirations? Or what are the conflicting attitudes and aspirations of the group or national groups? Or is there a national symbol that provides motivations and capable of eliciting the proper attitudes for LS? Note that with various readings one can either interpret them as obstacles or facilitators in LS.

And now we must look at the 'concrete' results and chief means of 'perpetuating' or developing the SL (Table D): Grammars, dictionaries, thesauruses (thesauri), spellers, style manuals, references, texts, journals, encyclopedias. We shall include here translations and original research work. These may be for use in the complete educational system - primary, secondary, and college/university; for vocational, professional, and/or scientific learned societies and some for the general public.

The last Table (Table E) is one that I titled **Modernisation Demands for LS** in terms of linguistic components such as the demands of the science and technological world, transportation and communication, government and education, and special fields or disciplines for such things as a particular speech variety, discourse, pronunciation, orthography, and specially vocabulary or lexicon.

For the evaluation criteria for testing the status of the L being standardised, we may use those advanced by Garvin (1964:521-523; 1974: 69-78) which are in terms of 1) Intrinsic properties = a) flexible stability, b) intellectualisation; 2) functions = a) unifying, b) separatist, c) participatory (this one was added by Garcia in the 1974 paper), d) prestige, and e) frame of reference; and 3) Attitudes = a) language loyalty, b) pride and awareness of norm.

The foregoing can be read and interpreted in terms of the other Tables. For example, intellectualisation can be read with reference to Table D - Inventory of Documentary Evidence of a SL. One can test whether the language has been intellectualised through a study of original works published in journals and books and references or texts used by the general public, the higher education sector, professionals, or scientific and learned societies.

From these frames, one can set up a series of hypotheses to test. A general hypothesis, out of which minor ones can be drawn, is the following:

The time required for LS and the degree of mastery by the IUP are affected by the various factors (as stated in the Tables).

This hypothesis suggests that the next step would be the development of appropriate and adequate instruments which will reveal the dimensions of time and degree of mastery and the interaction of the various factors.

As the hypothesis is being tested, implementation processes will be taking place. The research, therefore, will have to account for these processes - to determine whether programmes being carried out which are presumably to accelerate LS are fulfilling their functions or actually retarding the processes.

It was fun playing around with these ideas. These Tables are tentative and at best suggestive. I hope other workers in the field will advance generalisations and hypothesis for research. I will appreciate suggestions and criticisms for improvement and application.



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LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION AS A COMPONENT  
OF LANGUAGE PLANNING: A SUGGESTED TYPOLOGY

APPENDIX

TABLE A											
INTENDED USER POPULATION (IUP) OF THE SL											
	Type of Speech Community		Home Back-ground		Class Membership			Geo-graphical Setting		Patterns of Movement	
	Dynamic	Recessive	Advantaged	Disadvantaged	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Urban	Rural	Mobile	Static
A. SPEAKERS											
1. Native speakers of a variety of L Std.											
2. Non-Native speakers											
B. GENERATION											
1. Children											
2. Adults											
3. Out-of-School Youths											

TABLE B INSTITUTION/AGENCIES FOR LS				
	FORMAL (AUTHORITY)		INFORMAL	
	Gen Pop	Special	Gen Pop	Special
Conscious (Deliberate)	Public Schools	Language Committees Private Sch. Coll./Univ. Asso./Insti- tutes, e.g., INL	Publishers	Private Org. LSP, PALT PSLP
Unconscious (non-deliberate)		Military Courts and Law Church	Mass Media Newspapers TV Radio Pulong- Pulong Market	Disciplines/ Professions Writers

TABLE C OBSTACLES/FACILITATORS OF LS					
	TIME AND TENDENCIES			SOURCE	
	Traditional + - Ø	Current + - Ø	Individual	Group	National
Scholarship Financing					
Values Attitudes Aspirations Motivations Symbols					

TABLE D DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF A SL							
	General Use	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Colleges	Vocational Schools	Professional	Scientific/ Learned
Grammar Dictionaries Thesauruses Spellers Style Manuals References Texts Journals Encyclopedia Original Work (Various genres) Translations							

TABLE E MODERNISATION DEMANDS FOR LS					
DEMANDS MADE BY:	SPEECH VARIETY	DISCOURSE	PRONUNCIATION	ORTHOGRAPHY	VOCABULARY (lexicon)
Science/Industry Government Education Transportation Mass Communication Special Fields (Law, Medicine etc.					

## ADDENDUM\*

## Bilingual Education in Double Secondary Bilingualism

Language of Instruction	S P E A K E R S			
	TAGALOG		NON-TAGALOG	
	Urban (MNL)	Rural	Urban	Rural
PILIPINO	MT school, and speech community (SC) media	MT school speech community	SL school and partial media	SL school
ENGLISH	SL school partial SC	SL school	SL school partial media	SL school

\*From Sibayan, B.P. 1974, 'Rationale for Bilingual Education in the Philippines', *Philippine Journal for Language Teaching*, Vol. VII, May 1974, p.7.

## LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION IN LAOS

James R. Chamberlain

The beginnings of language standardisation in Laos can perhaps be traced back to the National Educational Reform Act (RLG 1962) which declared that Lao was the Language of Education, theoretically ending the use of French as a medium of instruction in the classroom. However, French continued to be used for sometime thereafter and little attention was paid to the condition of the national language until the creation of the Lao Royal Academy in 1970 (RLG 1970). During 1972, two Lao language research projects were launched under the auspices of the Academy, one to translate basic scientific and technical vocabulary from French into Lao, and the other to begin basic research on phonology, etymology, syntax, dialectology, and history of Lao (see Soulang etc. 1972). Today, the process of standardisation, though not yet formalised as such, is taking place in some interesting ways that seem to fit the socio-cultural environment of Laos.

The first point most Lao scholars agree on is that promoting a standard pronunciation is neither feasible nor necessarily desirable. Although Laos is small in size and in population, a great many dialects exist, and tonal variation from village to village is especially rich. This dialect diversity does not cause great problems in communication, due partially without doubt to constant exposure to each other's dialects. Laotians working together accept these regional dialects with little notice. This would seem to be a highly desirable situation, as it eliminates social prejudice which would accompany the choosing of a 'standard' pronunciation. Interestingly enough, the nature of the Lao writing system allows completely for dialectal variation, even among the non-Lao Tai dialects spoken in the country (see Appendix I).

Another benefit of this situation concerns the nation's non-Lao speaking minorities (which constitute half of the entire population,

over a hundred languages belonging to five linguistic families). It is easier for a tribal student to learn the regional Tai tone system found in his part of the country, than it is for him to be taught one of any number of tone systems to which he has never been exposed. For example, in training an Akha teacher how to teach Lao, we have made use of the non-Lao Tai Lue tone system found in his region. This tone system, like all other Tai tone systems, is easily accommodated by the Lao orthography.

For the lexicon, it has been proposed that regional vocabulary items from all dialect areas be collected and their use promoted throughout the country. Wherever possible this practice has been followed by the writers of the forthcoming Lao dictionary, who were purposely chosen from six different parts of the country. A more detailed collection has been proposed by Dr. Bounlieng Phommasouvanh as one of the objectives of the Lao portion of the SEAMEO-RELC regional socio-linguistic survey (see Appendix II). This decision to accept all regionalisms as standard (as opposed to selecting the dialect of one region) follows the spirit of the decision not to standardise pronunciation.

There are, however, some areas where standardisation of vocabulary is necessary. Three years ago, in the technical schools, the proliferation of commonly used technical terms began to get confusing. The German Technical School, the French Technical School, the Fa Ngum Comprehensive School and the College of Education were all developing separate sets of terms independently of each other. The result was that teachers of the same subject from different schools could not discuss their subject matter without falling back on French or English. This situation was rectified by the creation of a Technical Terms Translation Committee. The needs soon became so great with the rise of the Laocisation movement, that separate committees were created for each new subject. As a general rule, foreign terms that are already in common use are retained and new terms are created when necessary. At the present time, professors submit their vocabulary needs and the respective committees translate the terms at a rate of approximately one hundred words per three hours. To date, terms have been translated to meet teaching and other needs for biology, physics, math, meteorology, geography, law, library science, military science, linguistics, and economics.

Lao orthography has recently been the subject of much discussion for two reasons. First, the spelling of Lao words themselves is not agreed upon. Second, a Ministerial Council meeting on April 2, 1969 banned the use of the roman alphabetical symbols for ethnic minority languages.



A great many lexical items in Lao are loan-words from Sanskrit and Pali. These languages have a rich supply of syllable final consonants which do not exist as phonological possibilities in Lao. For instance, the Indic word *raja* is borrowed as *ra:j*, */ra:dʒ/* according to the historical value of the consonants in the orthography, *ra:s* in the modern orthography, but the actual pronunciation is */ra:ʔt/*. In 1949 Royal Ordinance Number 10 declared that all words shall be written according to the way they sound. This eliminated such spelling irregularities as *ka:l*, *ka:r*, or *ka:n* for the single pronunciation */ka:n/*, but other ambiguities remained, for example: */ra:ʔtsasap/* *royal vocabulary* is spelled *ra:ssap* where the orthographic symbol *s* has the phonological realisation */-ʔtsa-/*, the final */ʔt/* of the first syllable, the initial */s/* of the second syllable, and the short vowel */a/* of the second syllable (which in citation pronunciation becomes */aʔ/* increasing the phonological lead of the single symbol *s* to */-ʔtsaʔ-/*). While the Vientiane faction of the coalition government still retains the system just described, the Neo Lao Hak Sat have followed a stricter interpretation of the Royal Ordinance, so that */ra:ʔtsasap/* is indeed spelled unambiguously as *ra:ʔtsaʔsap*. To date the two factions have not come to an agreement on the standard spelling, but some confrontation on the issue is to be expected in the near future and a compromise reached. There are some purists about who have not accepted the Royal Ordinance and still insist on spelling words according to their origin, a system obtuse in the extreme, especially for use in the classroom.

Finally, concerning the minorities issue, there is what amounts to a broader type of alphabetic standardisation. All minority alphabets must use the symbols of the Lao alphabet. The government feels this will give the minority peoples a greater sense of national identity. A bilingual education programme for minorities in Laos is only in the experimental stage, but it is believed that standardisation of the symbols used will eliminate needless disputes over alphabets.

APPENDIX I  
THE LAO WRITING SYSTEM

To begin with, Lao (practically all dialects) has the following phonemic system (some phonetic details have been included, the symbols are IPA):

INITIALS

p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
[p]	[t]	[tɕ]	[k] (simultaneous glottal release)
b	d	j	ʔ
m	n	ɲ	ŋ
f	s		h
v	l		

VOWELS

i, il	u, uu	u, uu
ia	ua	ua
e, ee	ɣ, ɣɣ	o, oo
ə, əə	a, aa	ɔ, ɔɔ

FINALS

p	t	k	ʔ
m	n	ɲ	
w	j (ɣ only in LP)		

TONE

All initials except those in the square have two realisations in the orthography. The first set is referred to as 'high class' and the second set 'low class'. The consonants in the square have only one phonological representation and they are called 'middle class'.

There are five tone classes, A,B,C for smooth syllables (with continuant final or open) and DL and DS for checked syllables (with final stops and Long and Short vowels respectively). The initial consonant classes combine with the tone classes to allow for a maximum of seven or a minimum of four tone contrasts for classes ABC. Class DL usually combines with class C and the tones in DS are so short as to be considered separate, though severely restricted in distribution.

Thus, the following paradigm is born:

Consonant Class	Tone Class				
	A	B	C	DL	DS
High					
Mid					
Low					

#### SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Each syllable is comprised of an initial with an optional cluster of C + w, a vowel, and perhaps a final, and a tone. Following a short vowel a final consonant is obligatory (although final glottal stop is realised in orthography only by the short vowel symbol). After a long vowel the final is optional. The tone restrictions have been discussed above. This structure has the formula:

$$C(w) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \\ \left( \begin{array}{l} C_t + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \\ B \\ C \end{array} \right\} \\ C_t + DL \end{array} \right) \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} DS \\ \end{array} \right\} \right\}$$

(Where  $C_t$  = stop and  $C_n$  = continuant)

#### LAO ORTHOGRAPHY

High Class:	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	s	f	l	v	n	ɲ	m	r	ŋ
	ຜ	ຖ	ຂ	ຜ	ຟ	ຟ	ຜ	ຜ	ຜ	ຜ	ຜ	ຜ
Middle Class:	ʔp	ʔt	ʔtc	ʔk	b	d	j	ʔ				
	ຢ	ດ	ຈ	ກ	ບ	ດ	ຢ	ຢ				
Low Class:	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	s	f	l	v	n	ɲ	m	r	ŋ
	ຜ	ຖ	ຂ	ຜ	ຟ	ຟ	ຜ	ຜ	ຜ	ຜ	ຜ	ຜ

Vowels:	S	L	S	L	S	L
i	$\overset{\circ}{x}$	$\overset{\circ}{x}$	u	$\overset{\circ}{x}$	$\overset{\circ}{x}$	$\overset{\circ}{x}$
e	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	y	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	$\overset{\circ}{lx}$
a	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	a	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$
$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	=	ia	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$	=	ua	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$ = ua
$\overset{\circ}{x}$	=	aj	$\overset{\circ}{x}$	=	ay	$\overset{\circ}{cx}$ = aw

Tone: A =  $\emptyset$ , B =  $\overset{\circ}{x}$ , C =  $\overset{\circ}{x}$

DL, DS =  $\emptyset$  (conditioned by syllable structure)

Sample Tone System, Vientiane:

	A	B	C	DL	DS
High	$\overset{\circ}{L}$	$\overset{\circ}{T}$	$\overset{\circ}{L}$		$\overset{\circ}{T}$
Mid			$\overset{\circ}{L}$		
Low	$\overset{\circ}{T}$				$\overset{\circ}{T}$

APPENDIX II

PROPOSALS FOR SOCIO-LINGUISTIC SURVEY PROJECT FOR LAOS

(Drafted by Bounlieng Phommasouvanh)

1. A study of language and language learning attitudes.
2. Language education (Lao and ethnic languages) for ethnic minorities. This may involve contrastive linguistic studies between Lao and ethnic languages that will eventually aid language learning for Laotians.
3. Survey of ethnic languages and major Lao dialects (lexical items for the Lao dialects for example).
4. Study of the role of foreign languages in Laos: function and extent of use including who uses it and where.
5. Comparative and contrastive studies of foreign languages and respective cultures of their speakers.

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# SIMPLIFICATION: A STRATEGY IN THE ADULT ACQUISITION OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: AN EXAMPLE FROM INDONESIAN/MALAY<sup>1</sup>

Jack C. Richards

We think of language acquisition as a process in which the child arrives at adult grammar gradually by attempting to match to the speech it hears a succession of hypotheses of an increasing order of complexity ..... as these increasingly complex hypotheses become available to the child through maturational change. For phonology this was clearly shown by Jacobson's spectacular discovery that the child learns phonemes in a largely fixed order, which is determined not externally by the order or frequencies with which they are heard, but internally by their relative linguistic complexity, as reflected also in the rules governing the possible phonemic systems of the languages of the world.  
Kiparsky 1968:194

Kiparsky's comments on language development raise a number of issues which await adequate treatment in a theory of second language acquisition. Some of the unexplored variables concern the relationship of cognitive to linguistic development, the nature of language universals and their role in determining linguistic difficulty, differences between child and adult learners, and the contribution of affective factors. Recent accounts of second language learning differ in the importance they attribute to these or other variables. Di Pietro, for example, proposes an interesting model for second language learning based on a semantically oriented case grammar account of language (Di Pietro 1971). Selinker largely ignores semantics but utilises a psycholinguistic model in his Interlanguage paper (Selinker 1972). Richards (1976)

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<sup>1</sup>An earlier version of this paper was read as a guest lecture at the University of Malaya. I am grateful to Dr. P.W.J. Nababan for advice on Indonesian and to Djumadi for permission to use examples from his thesis (Djumadi 1973).

proposes that language functions through the use of cognitive schemes and procedures that code experience into sets of semantic and conceptual units from which the basic elements of linguistic structure are constructed. These are 'deep structures'. Second language learning does not involve re-organisation at this level but necessitates the acquisition of additional sets of syntactic, phonological and lexical rules necessary for the realisation of language independent deep structures. Presumably the set of basic cases and relationships which are the core of the semantic systems underlying syntax can incorporate a much wider range of semantic distinctions than any language will actually make use of. Second language learning primarily involves the acquisition of a new set of realisation rules by means of which the new language expresses underlying relations and modes of cognitive organisation of a universal type.

Studies of how the language learner comes to arrive at this new set of realisation rules have confirmed that the system of rules developed by the language learner is not learned by imitation. Analysis of learners' errors indicates rather that the learner recreates for himself, the system of the language, using universal learning strategies which result in the convergence of output seen in the grammar of child language and of the second language learner. Language acquisition proceeds through formation of successive hypotheses about the linguistic rules involved. The intermediate grammars thus produced are sufficient for the interpretation of the target language code and for realisation of the learner's needs, though they may be deviant in many ways from the target language system.

Both child language and adult learning of a foreign language illustrate another universal principal - the tendency towards simplification of the rules of the language by the language learner, accompanied by a parallel pressure towards complexification of the rule system so constructed, by the target language community. By simplification is meant increasing the generality of rules through extending their range of application, and through dropping rules of limited applicability. "Two very general processes are at work here - in the process of learning, children tend to simplify the language by applying the rules as generally as possible, while the sociolinguistic environment of the older generation tends to force them to restrict rules, thus maintaining complexity" (Orlowski 1971:202).

The language learner thus typically begins by constructing general rules which do not account for redundant and unnecessary parts of the grammar. Later the learner is forced to add to the surface complexity of the language as surface details come to take on social meaning.



Simplified rules may be retained however for informal usage. This is illustrated by *shall* and *will* in English. In formal speech and in the written language a subtle distinction exists between *will* and *shall* according to choice of person. In informal usage this is simplified to 'll.

Ferguson states that all language communities maintain a simplified and a linguistically more complex register of speech for use with "particular statuses, roles, or situations". The complex variety is generally regarded as the standard language. Examples of simplified varieties are baby talk - the form of speech used by parents with babies and foreigner talk - a form of speech often used when addressing foreigners (Ferguson 1971). Pidginisation and creolisation represent the corresponding processes under special language contact circumstances.

Kiparsky implies a cognitive basis for simplification, more complex rules developing as maturational development enables the learner to assimilate them. There is evidence for this in first language acquisition, since there is a correlation between the semantic complexity of language items and the order of development. However similar developmental sequences in adult and child syntax development, noted in recent studies, suggest that linguistic development can be considered independently from cognitive development, though the evidence for this position is far from conclusive. Data collected by Dulay and Burt seems to support the position that simplification is the result of a general learning strategy common to both children and adults. They propose:

- (1) The language learner possesses a specific type of innate mental organization which causes him to use a limited class of processing strategies to produce utterances in a language ....
- (2) Language learning proceeds by the learner's exercises of those processing strategies in the form of linguistic rules which he gradually adjusts as he organizes more and more of the particular language he hears ....
- (3) This process is guided in first language acquisition by the particular form of the L1 system, and in second language acquisition by the particular form of the second language system.

(Dulay and Burt 1974:109)

King discusses simplification and complexification as they influence language history, and isolates four major categories of language change evidenced in the historical evolution of languages; rule addition, rule loss, rule re-ordering and simplification. Both rule loss and re-ordering are regarded as a form of simplification. In his illuminating discussion of rule learning in children and adults, he suggests that when

adults make changes in their mother tongue, their rule changes can be regarded as a sort of overlay of the basic rules, the basic rules themselves remaining unchanged. Rule changes in adults consist of minor changes relatively late in the set of rules comprising a given component of the grammar (King 1969:ch.4).

Simplification may thus be considered as a universal learning strategy based on the extension of application of rules. Over-generalisation and analogy are instances of the same process. The immediate objective for a language learner is to construct an optimum grammar, that is, a grammar in which the fewest number of rules do the maximum amount of work. Subsequent complexification of the learner's rule system involves reduction of the generality of rules. Both processes are of interest to those concerned with language education and language planning, since any attempt to influence the direction of language development or change must, if it is to succeed, be in accordance with what we know of the natural laws affecting change in language. Second language learning is thus a vital field of enquiry, and insights obtained from the study of second language learning have important practical implications.

The case of the learning of Indonesian or Malay as a foreign language is of particular interest, since it offers striking illustration of the double pressures of simplification and complexification on language use and maintenance. On the one hand we have as part of the heritage of linguistic folklore, the widespread belief that Indonesian and Malay are easy languages to learn, a remark frequently made by those with no knowledge of either language. On the other hand we have the constant attestation by native speakers of Indonesian and Malay that they speak their languages very poorly. Generalisations about ease of acquisition are a consequence of the widespread use of simplified versions of Indonesian and Malay, which have been maintained in much the same way as have simplified versions of English in situations where the standard variety of the language is not perceived as the target for learning. Bazaar Malay, the simplified form of Malay in use in parts of Singapore and Malaysia, has long functioned as a medium of inter-ethnic communication. Such simplified varieties of a language have rarely been studied, since linguists generally confine themselves to descriptions of the standard language.

Another variety of Indonesian/Malay of equal interest is the variety spoken by foreigners who study these languages as foreign languages. Some of the characteristics of this variety of Indonesian/Malay will be described here, as evidence of the general principles of second language learning already discussed. My contact with Bahasa Indonesia

began in 1972 when I took up a year's appointment at Satya Wacana University in central Java. This is in fact not the ideal place to study Indonesian, since Javanese is the dominant language of both the town and the university, and the Indonesian spoken in the region is said to be influenced by Javanese. During my year in Java I suggested to an Indonesian student of linguistics that he do a study of my own acquisition of Indonesian and examine the Indonesian spoken by other foreign staff of the university. I co-directed the study and was one of the eight foreigners on whom the study was based (Djumadi 1973).

Data for the study was obtained through interviews, oral translation tests, and through informal observation on the part of the investigator, followed by interviews in which the particular problems of learning Indonesian were discussed with the subjects. These were adult native speakers of English who had resided in Indonesia for an average of two to three years. The study limited itself to the difficulties of the affix system for foreign learners of Bahasa Indonesia; prefixes *ber*, *me*, *di*, *ter*; suffix *an*; *ke* + root + *an*; *per* + root + *an*; suffix *i*; *me* + root + *i*; suffix *kan*; and *nya*. What follows is discussion of selected samples from the data. Each of these were judged as errors in the use of the prefix system by at least five competent speakers of Indonesian. Discussion of deviancy is a sensitive issue in any language however, and it is not expected that all Indonesians would react identically to these examples. In what ways do the errors made by foreigners speaking Indonesian, illustrate the simplification-complexification hypothesis?

We will begin with the prefix *ber*, which in Indonesian is added to nominal, verbal, adjectival and adverbial roots. Thus, *sepeda* *bicycle*, *bersepeda* *to ride a bicycle*; *bahagia* *happy*, *berbahagia* *to be happy*. The precise function of *ber* is a question of controversy within Indonesian linguistics. A convenient summary of its major function is that it is a verb-forming prefix, stressing the state of the verb rather than the verb viewed as an action. A number of factors contribute to the difficulty of the *ber* prefix for foreign learners. A basic difficulty is the problem of recognising any consistent meaning in it, which encourages omission of it. Then there is the problem of distinguishing it from other prefixes such as *me* which appear to function similarly. Add to this the existence of a class of verbs which never take *ber* together with the fact that native speakers of Indonesian omit *ber* in informal usage and we have the basis for the frequent omission of the *ber* in all contexts by foreigners. The most frequently occurring errors noted among the eight subjects were:

- (a) omission of *ber* with nominal roots,

(b) overuse of *ber* in places where it does not occur,

(c) omission of *ber* with verbal roots.

(In order to permit presentation of examples a word for word translation of the Indonesia sentences is given with an attempt to carry over some feel for the error into the English. This is not always possible however.)

Examples of (a) are:

Dl Singapore orang harus RAMBUT pendek.  
*In Singapore people must HAIR short.*

Saya UMUR 23 vtahun.  
*I AGE 23 year.*

Saya juga masih kenal baik dan juga HUBUNGAN baik dengan dia.  
*I also still know well and also RELATIONSHIP good with him.*

Well formed usage according to informants would include the prefix, using *berambut*, *berumur*, *berhubungan*.

The learner's problem is compounded by the fact that a similarly simplified register is used by native speakers of the language. In informal speech *berbicara* to *talk* becomes *bicara*; *berkerja* becomes *kerja* *work* and so on, preservation of the prefix being a marker of standard or formal speech. But whereas the native speaker controls the formal (complexified) and informal (simplified) registers, the foreigner tends to develop competence only in the simplified register. 'Foreigner talk' in Indonesian is typically marked by prefix omission, even in formal contexts.

An example of overuse of *ber* is its occurrence in place of *me* in the following:

Lama-lama kami mau BERNIKAH, mau menjadi suami isteri.  
*In the end we want BE IN A MARRIED STATE want become husband wife.*

*Nikah* requires *me*, stressing the verb as an action:

Lama-lama kami mau MENIKAH ....

The prefix *me* poses related problems to those of *ber*. *Me* is likewise generally described as verb forming producing which stress the action of the verb rather than the state, which is emphasised by *ber*. Differences between *me* and *ber* are semantically subtle, rules for affixing *me* to roots are morphologically complex for the beginner, and *me* is in competition both with *ber* and with 'complete' verbs which do not take *me*. In addition, *me* is omitted by native speakers informally, in imperative sentences, and in certain passive constructions. Commonest errors in the subjects' use of this prefix were:

(a) use of the prefix in contexts where it should not be used  
 (over-generalisation),

(b) use of *me* instead of *ter*,

- (c) use of *me* for prefix *ber*,
- (d) omission of *me* producing a form resembling a passive or imperative construction,
- (e) confusion of *me* and passive *di*.

The following illustrates (a) since a 'complete' verb - one which does not take the prefix - has been prefixed.

Tetapi orang itu MELARI dan saya mendengar kakinya dengan  
But man that TO RUNNING and I hear feet-his with  
sepatu MELARI keluar.  
shoes TO RUNNING outside.

This is a clear instance of over-generalisation, a strategy of simplification which derives from applying rules too generally. Over-generalisation is also responsible for menarik/tertarik *interesting/interested* confusion in the following.

Oleh karena dia MENARIK sekali kepada wayang kulit jadi  
because he INTERESTING very toward puppet leather thus  
saya MENARIK juga.  
I INTERESTING also.

*Me/ber* substitution is illustrated in:

Kami MENCERITA tentang keadaan disini.  
We RECOUNT about situation here.

Tapi tidak bisa MEMBICARA dengan teman.  
But not can SPEAKING with friend.

The confusion illustrated here may be reinforced by certain Indonesian language textbooks. Introductory lessons often teach *me* as a marker of Indonesian verbs. Forms like *berbicara* may then be taught in their simplified form, *bicara*. If *me* is generalised as a verb marker and *bicara* as a regular root, *membicara* is produced by analogy.

We commented above on the difficulty of assessing learning of *ber* in view of the fact that it is also omitted by Indonesians as a sign of informal speech. The same applies to *me*, which Indonesians omit as a mark of informal register and which foreigners tend to drop as part of their strategy of simplification. Some Indonesian linguists have commented on the omission of *me* in written Indonesian, which is thought to be inappropriate for this register (cp. Alisjahbana 1972). In the foreign learner's speech *me* omission often creates a contextually inappropriate tone, giving an instructive or imperative mood to the sentence.

Kami pinjam dari lain yang SEWA untuk enam bulan.  
We borrow from (man) other who RENT for six months.

Dan Garuda akan BAWA orang ke Bali.  
And Garuda will TAKE people to Bali.

Misalnya kalau perpustakaan itu baik, mereka dapat meminjam buku, ya  
Example if library good they can borrow book yes  
mereka terus belajar tetapi kalau harus DIBELI buku sendiri ya  
they continue study but if must IS BOUGHT book own yes  
sulit.  
difficult.

This type of error is quite common in the corpus. It may be that the learners interpret the passive *di* as a type of infinitive, as in:

Tentu seorang sana lebih DIIMPORT dalam bentuk masih kasar.  
*Of course a man there more IS IMPORTED in form still crude.*

Alternatively, as Quinne suggests, errors of this type with passive may be due to incomplete mastery of the word order of Indonesian sentences (Quinne, personal communication). For example, translating the following sentence into Indonesian:

*If we import this book it will be expensive. gives;*  
 Buku ini, kalau DIIMPORT, tentu mahal.

A foreigner may know that the passive *diimport* should be used, but insufficient mastery of Indonesian word order might lead him to produce a sentence like:

Apabila kita DIIMPORT buku ini tentu mahal.  
*If we ARE IMPORTED book this certainly expensive.*

In considering the effect of simplification and over-generalisation on the use of Indonesian and Malay by foreigners it is interesting to compare morphological development in English as a first language. The following data is taken from McNeill, based in turn on data from two subjects studied by Bellugi, and illustrates the order of development of five morphemes in child acquisition of English (McNeill 1970:83).

Inflection	Age of appearance in months		Combined rank order in parents' speech
	Adam	Eve	
Present progressive <i>ing</i> .	28	19½	2
Plural on nouns <i>s</i> .	33	24	1
Past on regular verbs <i>ed</i> .	39	24½	4
Possessive on nouns <i>s</i> .	39½	25½	5
Third person on verbs <i>s</i> .	41	26	3

McNeill notes that the same order of development occurs in both children, even though the rate of development is different, one child taking twice as long to acquire the five inflections as the other. Forms employing the same phonetic variants do not necessarily appear at the same time. Three inflections have the phonemic realisation *s*, but it is clearly not phonological development that determine the order of emergence. In addition there is only a weak correlation between the frequency of the items in the parents' speech and the order of development. McNeill suggests that what determines the order of development is the scope of the grammatical rules they control. The larger the scope, the later the development. The child begins with the most general rule possible, that is, the one with the fewest exceptions. What takes time to learn are rules that cover a range of structures



within a single sentence, such as the *s* inflection. The same author discusses another phenomenon which he refers to as *inflection imperialism*, with an example from child acquisition of Russian. For Russian singular nouns, an instrumental inflection *om* is added to masculine and neuter nouns and the inflection *oy* to feminine nouns. The child learner however typically seizes on one inflection *om* and applies it to all cases. Later when he becomes conscious of the feminine suffix, this replaces the previously practised *om*, and is applied to all cases. Eventually the two forms are gradually sorted out with their appropriate distributions.

The same phenomenon of inflectional imperialism is observed in adult acquisition of Indonesian or Malay. There is a period when prefixes are omitted, a period of over-applying them, and then later their patterns of correct usage may be sorted out. This is seen in the case of the suffix *kan* which is used to form transitive verbs from other parts of speech, and when applied to verbs already transitive, focusses on the object of the verb. Error analysis reveals an initial failure to distinguish between transitive verbs with the *me* + root form and those with *me* + root + *kan*. The omission of the suffix then affects the *di* + root + *kan* construction. Once the learner becomes aware of *kan*, however, it starts to replace the *me* + root construction and may be applied indiscriminately.

An example of omission of *kan* is:

Tapi saya tidak tahu, saya belum tahu rencana MENDAPAT  
But I not know I not yet know plan FIND  
scholarship itu.  
scholarship this.

Use of the *di* + root form with *kan* omission is illustrated by:

Semua klakson DIBUNYI.  
All horns SOUNDING.

Mereka lalu MENAMBAH pekerjaan pada pekerjaan yang sudah ada.  
They then BE ADDED work to work which already is.

An example of overuse of *kan* would be:

Kalau ada yang belum jelas silahkan MENGINTERUPSIKAN.  
If there is what not yet clear please INTERRUPT IT.

Inflectional imperialism, more commonly known as over-generalisation, is a natural outcome of contact with two or more apparently competing forms for a similar grammatical function. It is found as a common phenomenon in many language communities, particularly when simplified (non-standard) and complexified (standard) varieties of a language exist side by side. Speakers of the non-standard dialect typically over-generalise when attempting to produce the standard form of the language. This phenomenon is also referred to as *hypercorrection*.

In English it leads, for example, to overuse of *whom* in sentences like *Whom do you think is the culprit?* According to King it occurs when speakers of Low German attempt to speak High German (King 1969). Geertz gives examples of speakers of low Javanese attempting to create high forms for words which have no high forms.

Prijaji speakers of (what they regard as) 'correct' Javanese are continually making fun ... of 'ignorant' villagers who use tjintem as the high form of tjina (Chinese), when 'really' there is no higher form. Similarly for the village use of kontnen for kori (door) and, worst of all, their creation of high forms of place names which never should alter; Medinten for Kediri; Surobringo for Surabaya.

(Geertz 1960:258-9)

In the same way Malays find humour in the errors made by speakers of non-standard Malay when they attempt to speak the standard dialect.

## CONCLUSIONS

Language teaching and language planning generally set as their goals promotion of the learning or wider use of a standard form of a language. In all language communities, however, simplified language varieties are used for particular social functions. These are also the varieties likely to be employed by those acquiring the language as a foreign language, since learning proceeds through the development of systems of rules of progressive linguistic complexity. In this paper I have considered the factor of simplification as it affects language learning, ignoring the role of other variables (cp. Richards and Sampson 1974). Study of learners' simplifications provides data of interest to the theoretical interests of linguists, and the practical concerns of language teachers and language planners. It enables comparison of teaching to learning strategies, a necessary pre-requisite to drawing up realistic objectives for foreign language programmes. The examples discussed in this paper have been taken from the national language of Indonesia; however the general principles discussed presumably apply to the learning of other Asian languages. Applied linguistics can make a useful contribution to practical questions concerning language standardisation, through considering the nature and significance of learners developing linguistic systems.



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## LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION

Nelia G. Casambre

A parent one morning came up to the office of the Institute for Language Teaching visibly distressed because two teachers she consulted on the composition prepared by her son could not agree on expressions to use, neither on the spelling of words. The boy, a grade V pupil made a business letter written in Pilipino inquiring from a company about a book in science; the parent, a Tagalog speaker, mother in this case, checked her boy on his homework and was distressed to find out that her boy used *libro* instead of *aklat* for *book* and *cien pesos* instead of *isang daang piso* for *one hundred pesos*. The mother consulted a friend, a Pilipino teacher, who corrected the composition and changed the expression *libro ng siyensiya* to *aklat ng agham*. "What is agham?", the mother exclaimed, after seeing the teacher's correction, "I have never heard of it". So she hurried to another Pilipino teacher for confirmation of the correct. The second teacher told her, to her utter confusion, that both are okay - *libro ng siyensiya* is as acceptable as *aklat ng agham*, *cien* is as good as *isang daan* and *siyensiya* can be spelled with any of the following endings: *siya*, *sia* or *sya*.

Such is the confusion that Pilipino as a language of instruction has given us today. Such is the problem that language to go by. We are confused a lot, we language teachers who have been commissioned to use and to teach a language that has as yet no single accepted norm for pronunciation and grammar, let alone spelling and vocabulary. How often have our language classrooms been witness to this confusion and anxiety-laden moments not only to the teacher who has to make decisions on *libro* or *aklat*, *siyensiya* or *agham*, but also to the pupil who has to make the choice depending upon the varied inclinations of the teachers handling his classes; also to parents who find it a distressing encounter

to discover that teachers in the same school cannot even agree on choices of items in the language that they are teaching.

I submit, ladies and gentlemen, we language teachers in this country are a brave lot, heroic in carrying on amidst this confusion and uncertainty. I would like to thank the organisers of this seminar for giving language teaching a chance to be heard in such a crucial issue as language standardisation. It is but fitting and a proper pedagogic principle that the implementors be heard on what they should implement.

This paper aims to define what language teaching is in this country. It shall point out its unique features and the confusion and problems encountered by the language teacher attendant to the equally confusing status of our language instruction today. It shall deal with standardisation and the role of language teaching to this crucial national issue; it will wind up with some recommendations on how language teaching could be of help in standardisation and some rejoinders to teachers and educationists of their responsibilities as disseminators of the language; it calls upon all relevant sectors of the country to work together harmoniously in this arduous yet vital task in our national existence.

## 1. LANGUAGE TEACHING

Language teaching in the Philippines is teaching English, Pilipino, Spanish and the vernaculars to Pilipino children and/or adults in our schools at varying levels.

The Department of Education and Culture spelled out the domains of the languages to be used in our school system when it issued Department Order No. 25, Series of 1974<sup>1</sup> with guidelines for implementation of the bilingual policy:

- a. Bilingual education is defined operationally as the separate use of Pilipino and English as media of instruction in definite subject areas.
- b. The use of English and Pilipino as media of instruction shall begin in grade I in all schools. In grades I and II, the vernacular used in the locality or place shall be auxiliary medium of instruction ...
- c. English and Pilipino shall be taught as language subjects in all grades in the elementary and secondary schools.
- d. Pilipino shall be used as medium of instruction in the following subject areas: social studies, social science, character education, word education, health education and physical education.

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<sup>1</sup>The Department Order No. 25, Series 1974 was issued on June 19, 1974.

This Department Order has given the educational system a transition period of four years within which adequate preparation for the shift from English to Pilipino in the subjects stated shall have been fully accomplished. Thus, by 1978 all schools shall have been implementing the bilingual policy enunciated in the above order. The aim of our new language policy is to develop "a bilingual national competent in the use of both English and Pilipino".

The above dictum commits us language teachers to the development of proficiency in the two languages for purposes of communication. Spanish is taught in the tertiary level as a subject, the status of the language being limited to "language for certain purposes".

Language teaching can likewise be viewed as a course programme, a curriculum for training of teachers or would-be teachers in effective teaching of the languages for the purpose for which they are intended. Thus, in the Philippines, we have baccalaureate degrees in Education and in Arts. There is a Bachelor of Science in Education (BSE) for would-be teachers in the secondary schools, Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education (BSEED) for those in the elementary school; Bachelor of Arts (AB) for those who are generally assigned to handle courses in college. All these degrees have concentration in any one language, thus there is a programme for BSE major in English or in Pilipino or Spanish, etc. On the post-baccalaureate level, there are the masteral degree programmes (MA, MAT, MED) with concentration in anyone language, thus Master of Arts in Teaching English as a Second Language (MAT-ESL) or Master of Education major in Second Language Teaching (MED-SLT), etc.; a Ph.D. in Education (major in Language Teaching) for training of teachers, supervisors, key personnel who shall be given the charge of implementing our language programmes.

## 2. LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION

When we talk of 'standard' what comes to our mind is a yardstick, absolute and fixed to evaluate every other member belonging to the group. Any departure from the yardstick is often times looked down as substandard and in certain cases punishable as in the classroom. A child who does not keep to the norm of classroom conduct is generally called down for breach of accepted behaviour.

The standard of language, however, cannot be absolute nor fixed if language has to fulfill its social obligations. Since it operates in a dynamic society it must necessarily be dynamic. It cannot be structurally, completely, and eternally formalised for when it becomes static and would not admit of change it cannot meet the increasingly

different social and cultural demands of an ongoing and over-changing community where it operates. By standard language, therefore, is meant approximate uniformity of vocabulary, regularity of syntax, similarity of pronunciation and uniformity of meaning of terms used. It is that which the community can accept and use as a model in its transactions.

Standardisation is the process of becoming standard; in language it is a slow process of establishing a norm characterised by flexibility and linguistic spontaneity with which members of the group can operate. It is the process of adding, reselecting, deleting, enlarging, strengthening and revising the system for as Hertzler<sup>1</sup> puts it, "... language can be thought of as an ever-refreshed flow in an ever-changing channel." In short, language can be thought of as a self perpetuating system.

The Pilipino language has not as yet obtained this level of sophistication in its existence, otherwise there would be no such incident as was cited earlier concerning the libro - aklat or siyensia - agham confusion.

The Pilipino language in fact as of late found itself in a very precarious as well as confusing legal position with the ratification of the 1973 Constitution by the barangay.

Sec.3, Article XV, Provision No. 2 of the New Constitution states that "The National Assembly shall take steps towards the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino".<sup>2</sup>

The above provision, legally superimposes a language not yet in existence over the now existing Pilipino. Referring to this provision Andrew Gonzales, in a paper read during the recent Benitez Memorial Lecture Series, called this "A Case Study of Linguistic Dissonance" and he explained it a la Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory which states of the inconsistent, discordant or dissonant cognitions resulting in discomfort and subsequent attempt to reduce such.

As far as the New Constitution is concerned, the common national language is not even in the stage of becoming. It has to wait for the National Assembly to be convened and until such time there shall be no common national language. As Gonzales puts it, "we are a nation of forty million in search of a common national language ... once more".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hertzler, Joyce, *The Sociology of Language* (New York: Random House, 1965), p.141.

<sup>2</sup>'The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines', *The Philippines Quarterly*, June 1973, p.49.

<sup>3</sup>Andrew Gonzales, 'The Constitution and the Language Policy of the DEC' Lecture delivered during the 1974 Benitez Memorial Series, held at the University of the Philippines, Oct. 26, 1974.

Yet in the succeeding provision, Provision 3 of the same Section of Article XV, it expressly states that until otherwise provided by the law, English and Pilipino shall be our official language. This still places Pilipino as one of the official languages, but whether it is still the national language remains quite an enigma to those interested in language development and propagation.

This prompted Director Pineda of the Surian ng Wikang Pambansa (Institute of National Language) to write a communication to the Secretary of Justice, seeking clarification on the status of Pilipino after the ratification of the New Constitution of 1973. While the reply was not very explicit one very significant statement is in favour of Pilipino which says, "nowhere is it provided (in the Constitution, that is) that the existing national language called 'Pilipino' is immediately abrogated and set aside". To further clench the status of Pilipino as national language in the Philippines, President Marcos in a speech<sup>1</sup> delivered in connection with the opening programme of the National Language Week sometime in August, 1973 confirmed the status of Pilipino, saying: "The development of a national language began 40 years ago. We already have a national language, Pilipino, but it needs full support and further enrichment." In the same speech he enjoined the people to "... forget all bickerings about which one to develop into national language, and what name to give it. Our national language is Pilipino." Then he paraphrased Rizal when he said, "According to Rizal, language is the soul of a nation; Pilipino is our national soul".

In a preliminary survey of the attitudes and opinions of language teachers from different levels of our educational system towards the national language and its standardisation, 90% of the respondents confirmed the status of Pilipino as the country's national language, but when asked "Is Pilipino or Filipino the same?", there was a 50-50 result between the yes and the no answers.

The respondents in the survey were unanimous in their expression for the need for a standard language to use in the schools. When asked where a standard language should be used, they mentioned the following in this order - schools, official transactions, government functions. Seventy six percent of the respondents still would use English in writing business and social letters and in formal oral business transactions. In situations like community prayers, bus rides, waiting for appointments, informal social gatherings, transactions with clerical

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<sup>1</sup>'Language Policy on Education and Culture in the New Society' a translation of the speech of President Ferdinand E. Marcos delivered in Pilipino at the opening programme of the National Language Week held at MLQU, August 13, 1973.



staff, the majority of the respondents prefer Pilipino. Majority chose the vernacular in discussions with relatives and with parents. In short, the vernacular as far as this study is concerned remains the home language; Pilipino, the language for informal ordinary transactions and still English and Pilipino in more formal business transaction.

To the question, "Which brand of Pilipino should be the national language?", about 40% answered Manila brand,<sup>1</sup> 38% UP brand.<sup>2</sup>

The same percentage was obtained by Manila brand and UP brand respectively to the question "Which brand do you actually use in the classroom?".

To the question, "Who in your opinion should decide the standard of our national language?", about 50% checked "popular usage", 22% the Institute of National Language and a negligible 2% the Law makers. This is the teachers' declaration that language development and language standardisation cannot be imposed by legislation for to be a living language, to answer a people's communication needs it must be accepted and disseminated by living individuals.

About 50% of the respondents would allow for borrowing in the process of standardisation and to the question "Would you encourage the propagation and use of other languages besides the chosen national language?", 70% of them answered yes, a clear indication that the language teachers would aim for mutual respect and acceptance of languages other than the national language, thereby promoting a multi-lingual nation through the existing diverse ethnolinguistic personalities of our country.

The Philippine language situation in so far as the language teacher is concerned is still confused. The language teacher is at a loss as to whether to use the term Pilipino or Filipino when he refers to the courses, let alone the language of instruction in his classes.

### 3. PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGE TEACHING TODAY

The lack of standard language to use in classrooms throws the language teacher in a quandry. Many an incident like that one cited

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<sup>1</sup>The Manila brand Pilipino is conversational. It is not the puristic type; however, it allows borrowing from common Spanish words which have been considered a part of the language, and a little from English.

Example: 1. Paraan ng Pagbuo sa Wikang Pambansa  
2. Pagbibigay ng katuturan

<sup>2</sup>UP Brand Pilipino takes its borrowings mostly from English, usually a direct transfer of the lexical item.

Example: 1. \*Ang paksa ng aking lektyur ay 'Ang programa sa Pilipino ng Universidad ng Pilipinas (UP) sa 1971 Kombensyon Konstitusyonal (Konkon) para sa pagdebelop ng isang wikang pambansa para sa Pilipinas.



earlier has been acted and re-enacted in the classrooms throughout the country today. The problem is more acute with the language teacher whose native language is not Pilipino. She could not decide whether she is guro or titser, whether her pupil is mag-aaral or estudiante, estudiante with i or estudyante with a y. This brings to mind an incident of a test paper written by a candidate to our masteral program from the Visayas. The corrector, a supervisor from Manila, graded the paper down, in fact changed guro (that appeared in the candidate's paper) to titser and changed a lot other terms with English or Spanish loans. Another corrector called the attention of the chairman of the Examining Committee and insisted that the native words stay. All these could have been averted if there were approximate norms to go by.

Often times one hears the comment: Non-native speakers of Pilipino, i.e. Visaya or Ilokano speakers, etc. speak more correct Pilipino. More correct, like good or bad, obviously is relative. It presupposes the existence of a yardstick or norms to compare it with. Unfortunately, the yardstick often used is one which do not seem to find its way into the students' everyday transactions. Thus while he passes his courses in Pilipino, he can hardly get along at the store not to mention how pedantic he sounds with terminologies not even Balagtas probably would use.

Besides the problem of lack of norms which garnered the highest percentage in the same survey mentioned earlier, lack of textbooks and instructional materials placed second in the list of problems followed by wrong attitudes towards learning Pilipino and linguistic interference taking tie for the 3rd rank. Negative attitudes of school authorities ranked lowest in this list.

There is a crucial need for more trained teachers in Pilipino and indeed also in English, a need made more acute by the Department Order No. 25, which expects a bilingual nation competent in both languages. There is a need for better classroom facilities and language laboratories where learning a language can be conducive and effective.

#### 4. THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE TEACHING IN LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION

With language teaching and standardisation described, what then is the role of language teaching in language standardisation?

Language teaching as a programme describes languages and language varieties and their uses in social encounters. Language teaching draws from such descriptions and comparisons pedagogic implications of possible and predictable interferences that could be sources of targets for what to teach. It assists teachers to discover for themselves

effective strategies for teaching the language to learners of varied levels. In effect language teaching deals with language - its use and its users. If there is any ground where norms for a language can be set, it is in the language classroom where language teaching can provide materials in the codification of grammar, lexical and orthographic norms necessary for language standardisation. These materials may be drawn from researches done in the classrooms. For instance, thesis like 'A Study of the Pattern of Mixing English and Tagalog in Radio Broadcasts',<sup>1</sup> attempts to give a descriptive analysis of shifts from English to Tagalog and vice versa. It establishes a possible system upon which rules may be formulated; it has made a frequency count of the number of times a particular rule appears and traces the reason(s) for the shift(s). The study is valuable in that it can help provide linguistic direction in the standardisation of the Tagalog based Pilipino. Researchers in linguistic geography and cognates in different languages and other such relevant researches could be valuable vocabulary materials for language standardisation.

If standardisation means acceptability of the norms of language in a speech community, there is no fertile community better than the language teachers and their classrooms. It is this ground where development and dissemination of these norms can be achieved.

I submit there is no better group of people to help decide what language to teach than the active implementors and disseminators of the language themselves. In the survey mentioned earlier, 70% of the respondents answered yes to the question "Should teachers take active part in language standardisation?" when asked "why", a majority of them answered - "teachers know the language better". It is the language teachers that consciously and conscientiously attends to the nuances of the language in use; it is they who should be involved in such a task as language standardisation.

In the light of the nature of language and the process of standardisation, the language teaching programmes should prepare language teachers in their functions not only as disseminators of information through language but as sensitive surveyors of their varied linguistic environment; the language teaching programmes should train teachers to record language as it operates in the dynamic environment.

The language teachers should not be mere disseminators of ideas nor look up to authorities outside of themselves for a prescribed standard. The language teacher must survey and systematically record her linguistics

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<sup>1</sup>Serafin G. Pimentel 'A Study of the Patterns of Mixing English and Tagalog in Radio Broadcast, Unpublished Masters Thesis UP, 1972.

tic environment and discover for herself the norms for language which will be the basis for what she will transmit in the classrooms. In so doing, she contributes to language standardisation. Yet she must be aware that she cannot do this alone for standardisation cannot be done individually; it is a collective effort of the linguists, the researchers the teachers and other agencies actively engaged in language who share each others findings, who work together co-operatively. The linguists and researchers draw heavily from the teacher's experiences in actual use of the language, on the teacher's findings as she records her environment; they rely on the teachers to transmit the model thus chosen for testing and final adoption. If this happens then standardisation takes its national course.

The language teacher can provide language choice for students and for the community as a whole. The language teacher as a model for speech and writing wields a very strategic position in language development as well as in language standardisation. If there is any agent more potent as imitation model it is the language teacher whose speech consciously or unconsciously becomes the pupil's. For this reason, the language usage of the classroom can be one source for items in our search for language standardisation.

Language teaching programmes through their extensive study of language and language varieties can develop in the language users the attitude of mutual respect for each other's language and the point of view expressed by them. This respect is a necessity not only in the development of language standard, but for national integration in a country as diverse as the Philippines.

## 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

With the strategic role of language teaching and the language teacher in this crucial national issue of language standardisation I would like to recommend the following:

1. That the effort towards language standardisation should be a co-operative venture rather than a competitive one. It cannot be achieved through bickerings and emotionalism but through mutual respect and understanding of varied linguistic idiosyncracies as well as recognition of divergencies of language philosophies. Those interested in language should end up their fallacies; they should instead work together for the achievement of a common goal. This may be easier said than done, but if this co-operation among academicians can be achieved then we teachers would not be thrown into this dilemma we find ourselves in. We would not be troubled by making decisions on what

brand to adopt; we would not worry whether we said Pilipino or Filipino for the language we are using.

2. This effort must be spearheaded by scholars who have dedicated themselves to the study of language and who are willing to give more of their time and effort to the cause of language standardisation.

3. There must be an active co-operation of language societies where thoughts and ideas can be shared and tested with the end in view of discovering and coming out with what best rules to use.

4. There must be impetus to professional publications where one can have a test ground for his ideas.

5. There must be healthier attitudes toward language and language users.

6. Use of more mass media for language dissemination should be encouraged.

7. Incentives should be given to teachers to undertake writing of instructional materials. I submit that there are no writers of textbooks than those who have the actual classroom experience. A team of writers drawn mostly from teachers in the field can be convinced to work full time on writing textbooks.

8. That universities provide all the facilities to teachers who undertake writing of instructional materials needed to induce outstanding teachers to do this job.

9. In any venture, logistics is a vital consideration; therefore, there must be full support from the government and other funding agencies in order to make the effort a reality.

10. At this point of our language dilemma our schools and teacher training institutions should offer short term and intensive courses in the various areas specified in Department Order No. 25. There should be short term courses on how to teach social studies or work education or health education in Pilipino. This will give teachers of the subject areas more confidence and make them feel less overwhelmed in handling courses in a changed medium.

The language problem in education is difficult and surcharged with emotions. We cannot hope to solve this by keeping mum or by running away. As language teachers, we are very vital cog in this machinery for language development and standardisation. Let us be active participants in it. Let us work hand in hand with other agencies to enunciate long-term policies carefully devised on the basis of our best knowledge and in a spirit of give and take. Unless we start this active movement towards standardisation and release our boundless but untapped human resources in this country, we will simply be repeating other people's views and theories but hardly will be able to participate in bringing about the much needed emotional integration among our multi-lingual people.

## THE VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN RELATION TO THE STANDARDISATION OF BAHASA INDONESIA<sup>1</sup>

Amran Halim

The vernacular languages of Indonesia have heavily influenced the development and the standardisation of her national language, Bahasa Indonesia. On one hand, these vernacular languages, especially such major ones as Javanese, have served as an important source of phonological, grammatical as well as lexical enrichment of the national language. On the other hand, the very fact that Indonesia is a multilingual country, where some 400 indigenous languages and dialects are spoken, has resulted in a relatively high degree of complexity in the process of standardising the national language.

The contribution of the vernacular languages to the development of Bahasa Indonesia is obviously one of the features distinguishing it from Bahasa Malaysia, the national language of Malaysia, which are technically two dialects of one and the same language, i.e. Malay. Thus the 1954 Bahasa Indonesia Congress in Medan, North Sumatra, recognised that Bahasa Indonesia grew and developed out of Malay, specifically Riau dialect of Malay in Sumatra, and added, however, that the language had been enriched by the vernacular languages since it became the national language of the country. The language has, for all intents and purposes, grown and developed in such a way and to such an extent that it has become phonologically, grammatically as well as lexically quite distinct from the Riau dialect of Malay.

Javanese, which is spoken natively by approximately 60 million people in Central and East Java, is probably the most influential

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<sup>1</sup> A paper presented at the Second Conference on Asian Languages, Manila, Philippines, December 16-21, 1974.

vernacular language in the country not only because of the large number of its native speakers but also because of its strong literary tradition. The contribution of Javanese to the phonology of Bahasa Indonesia, for example, is witnessed by the currently acceptable occurrence of schwa in final closed syllables in such words as *ruwet complicated*, *sumber source*, and *luwes naturally refined*. The diphthongs [ei] and [ou], which are in free variation with [ai] and [au], respectively, in such words as *pantai beach*, *sampai until*, *to arrive*, *pulau island* and *harimau tiger* are probably also due to the influence of Javanese.

The influence of Javanese on Bahasa Indonesia grammar is illustrated by the use of *-nya* as a possessive indicator as in *ibunya Ali mother of Ali* (i.e. *Ali's mother*) in the sentence *ibunya Ali sudah datang Ali's mother has come*. Some Indonesian grammarians still regard this use of *-nya* as ungrammatical on the basis of the fact that in Malay *-nya* is used either as a third person (singular) possessive pronoun as in the sentence *ini Ali; ibunya sudah datang this is Ali; his mother has come*, or as a definitizer as in *soalnya adalah siapa yang akan diundang the problem is who is going to be invited*. In Malay possessive relations are indicated by word-order without the aid of *-nya*. Thus, *Ali's mother* is expressed by *Ibu Ali*. However, the use of *-nya* as in *ibunya Ali* has become so common that it does not seem to sound strange any more. Furthermore, the use of *-nya* as a possessive indicator appears to be a useful device in minimising, if not eliminating, the ambiguity of *Ibu Ali*, which means either *Ali's mother* or *Ali's wife* in modern Bahasa Indonesia, where *ibu* has also acquired the meaning of *Mrs*. The two meanings are differentiated by the use *-nya*. Thus, *ibu Ali Mrs. Ali* is distinguished from *ibunya Ali Ali's mother*. Whether or not this use of *-nya* will become part of standard Bahasa Indonesia remains to be seen. The chances, however, seem to be that it is likely to stay, at least in spoken Indonesian.

There are at least two ways in which Javanese influences the lexicon of Bahasa Indonesia. First, it serves as a source of new words and phrases for Bahasa Indonesia as illustrated by *ganyang attack* and *sandang pangan clothing (and) food*. Second, consistent with the stratification of its speech levels, Javanese has led to a kind of lexical stratification in the national language. Thus there are such pairs of lexical items in Bahasa Indonesia today as *perempuan woman* versus *wanita lady*, and *buta blind* versus *tunanetra deprived of vision*, in which *perempuan* and *buta* are Malay, and *wanita* and *tunanetra* are derived from Javanese.

What have been said with regard to the role played by Javanese in the process of enriching the national language also apply to other



vernacular languages in Indonesia to a similar or a lesser degree and extent depending on such factors as the number of native speakers, literary tradition, geographic location, social and cultural prominence, and economic conditions. These factors account for the fact that the vernacular languages do not influence Bahasa Indonesia in exactly the same way and the same extent. For example, the Ngada language is spoken by approximately 144 thousand people, with hardly any significant literary tradition, in the relatively isolated island of Flores in the eastern part of Indonesia. Nor is Flores socio-culturally and economically very prominent. Therefore, compared with the influence of Javanese, the contribution of Ngada to the enrichment of the national language is practically negligible.

Each of the hundreds of vernacular languages spoken in the country serves as the major means of intra-group communication within the community in which it is used. As such each of them symbolises living socio-cultural as well as ethnic values and pride. Nevertheless Indonesia has been very fortunate in that there is no sense of linguistic competition among the speakers of the vernacular languages. Bahasa Indonesia has been accepted without reserve as the official language by means of which public affairs are carried out, the official medium of instructions in the schools of practically all types and levels, the official language of science and technology, and also as the national language which not only serves as a symbol of nationalism but also as a means of inter-group, inter-ethnic and inter-cultural communication.

The widespread use of Bahasa Indonesia in the country of course does not eliminate the fact that Indonesia is multilingual. This fact in the Indonesian context has led to two general features of the Indonesian language situation. First, the fact that there are numerous vernacular languages, each of which is a living means of communication, along with rather than in competition either with one another or with the national language has resulted in a very high degree of linguistic tolerance. Local features of Bahasa Indonesia as it is spoken by a given speaker are accepted as they are as long as the necessary smooth flow of communication is not disrupted. In fact, it is these local features that make Bahasa Indonesia living and, in a way, dynamic in the sense that it is almost always open to newly generated words and expressions. The second general feature of the Indonesian language situation, which is intimately related to the first, is that the multilingual situation has made the process of standardising the national language quite complicated. It is an enormous task to try to establish just what norms are to be used in defining standard Bahasa Indonesian. If standard Bahasa

Indonesia means a nationally uniform languages based on a set of selected norms, the problem to be faced will be what to do with the inevitable local features of the language which are due to the multilingual situation? How are the norms to be selected so that they will be acceptable to the speakers of the numerous vernacular languages? Are there really national norms that can truly work? These and a host of other basic question along the same line are tough questions indeed. Their answers require a network of sociolinguistic information, which is lacking at the present time. The immediate solution, therefore, appears to be to distinguish formal written Bahasa Indonesia - the kind of Bahasa Indonesia used in official public addresses, in formal correspondence, in textbooks - from its informal written and spoken counterparts. Only with regard to the formal written language can some sort of norms be set simply because of the fact that it is minimally affected by local features of speech due to the vernacular languages. As far as informal written Bahasa Indonesia and spoken Bahasa Indonesia are concerned, there is simply no way of eliminating the local features, and therefore no national norms can reasonably be expected to work. There is a certain degree of consensus among Indonesians as to what standard spoken Bahasa Indonesia. The consensus is that there are no such things as the standard spoken Bahasa Indonesia, and that standard spoken Bahasa Indonesia varies from locality to locality depending on what vernacular language is spoken natively by the majority of the population in the area. Despite the fact that Bahasa Indonesia as it is spoken in Jakarta carries a certain amount of prestige throughout the country, for example, it does not necessarily follow that it is also the standard spoken Bahasa Indonesia in, let us say, Palembang, the capital of the province of South Sumatra, where Bahasa Palembang, a dialect of Malay, is spoken, or in the area where the mother tongue of the majority of the population is, let us say, Buginese. In other words, standard spoken Bahasa Indonesia is defined flexibly to accommodate the local features and varieties due to multilingualism. Thus it has been shown how the numerous vernacular languages have led to the complexity in the process of standardising the national language.

The problems involved in the standardisation of Bahasa Indonesia because of the vernacular languages spoken in the country have not, fortunately, made communication impossible. This is obviously due to the fact that, first, Malay, out of which Bahasa Indonesia has grown, had been used as a *lingua franca* for centuries prior to 1928, when the historic All Indonesia Youth Congress in Jakarta adopted Bahasa Indonesia as the national language of the country. Thus the language has been in active and widespread use throughout the archipelago for



quite some time. Second, the use of Bahasa Indonesia as a language of government during the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945, and as the official or state language of the Republic of Indonesia since 1945 has also counterbalanced the negative impact of multilingualism on the national language, and thus has facilitated communication on the national and inter-provincial level. Third, the fact that Bahasa Indonesia has been used as the medium of instruction in schools of practically all types and levels has also contributed to the smooth flow of communication and to the process of standardising the national language. Fourth, the vernacular languages do not compete for recognition as nationally prominent languages, and the functional differentiation between the vernacular languages on one hand and the national language on the other has led to no difficulty in communication.

It has been shown briefly that the vernacular languages spoken in Indonesia have a two-sided influence on the national language of the country and its standardisation. On one hand, they have enriched the national language phonologically, grammatically as well as lexically. On the other hand, the very fact that there are literally hundreds of vernacular languages in active use throughout the country has led to a certain degree of complexity in the process of standardising the national language. Because of the crucial role potentially played by the vernacular languages it is imperative that the dynamic use of these languages be maintained, and that local features and varieties be recognised in relation to the development and standardisation of the national language.

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# SPELLING REFORM 1972: A STAGE IN THE PROCESS OF STANDARDISATION OF BAHASA INDONESIA

Harimurti Kridalaksana

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1966 the Department of Education and Culture introduced a spelling reform with the aim of modernising the existing system and of unifying the Indonesian with that of the Malaysian spelling. The new spelling system was eventually declared official by the President on August 17, 1972.

The six-year period of 1966-1972 supports the evidence that problems posed by the formulation of a new spelling for a language with a deep-rooted traditional system differs widely from that by a completely unwritten language and that the making of a new spelling based on linguistic principles is relatively easy compared with the efforts of putting it into actual practice.

## 2. A SHORT HISTORY OF INDONESIAN SPELLING

Spelling has a unique place in the development of Malay and Bahasa Indonesia.

Before the 20th century there was no uniform orthography to represent the language. The writing of Malay in Roman script differed from author to author. They were usually phonetic in nature, as they were devised by and for non-Indonesians.

The first standardised spelling for Malay that more or less put a stop to the existing confusions was instituted by Ch.A. Van Ophuijsen, published in his *Kitab Logat Melajoe* in 1901. The system, which is generally known as the Van Ophuijsen spelling 1901, became the official spelling for Malay in the Dutch colonial possessions.

In the First Congress of Bahasa Indonesia held in Surakarta in 1938 - ten years after the Youth Congress that declared Bahasa Indonesia as national language for the future nation of Indonesia - a resolution was adopted which accepted the Van Ophuijsen spelling for the time being, while recommending that change to serve economy and simplicity should be considered for the future, and that 'international spelling' should also be taught in schools.

Two years after Independence, i.e. on March 19, 1947, the then Minister of Education Soewandi decreed a new spelling for Bahasa Indonesia which aimed at the simplification of the Van Ophuijsen system. This is known as the Republican or Soewandi Spelling 1947.

From October 28 to November 2, 1957 in Medan the Second Congress of Bahasa Indonesia was held and one of the results was a resolution to improve the existing system. To implement this resolution the Minister of Education appointed a commission headed by Prijono and later by E. Katoppo. The commission put proposals to the Government and the spelling system was known as the Pembaruan system 1957. This system was never put into use.

Meanwhile the romanised spelling as current in the Malay Peninsula, as it was a British colony at that time, has its own history. On October 1904 a committee appointed by the Government of the Federated Malay States and headed by R.J. Wilkinson formulated what was later known as Ejaan Wilkinson. Later in Malay schools a slightly different system came into existence - the system known as Ejaan Za'ba. Among Malay writers of the fifties another system - known earlier as Ejaan Fajar Asia - formed during the Japanese occupation, was current.

In September 1956 in the Language Congress held in Singapore a desire to unify the spelling systems of Malay and Indonesia was articulated, and a new system that would be acceptable to both countries was proposed. And this is the beginning of all the attempts to unify the spelling systems of the two countries.

As a follow-up of the friendship treaty between the Republic of Indonesia and the Federation of Malay, a meeting was held between the Commission for the Implementation of Malay-Indonesian Language Cooperation headed by Slametmuljana and the Commission of the New Romanized Spelling headed by Syed Nasir bin Ismail on December 4 to December 7, 1959 in Jakarta. The result of this meeting was a proposal for the unification of the spellings of the two countries, known as **Pengumuman Bersama Ejaan Bahasa Melayu-Indonesia (Melindo)** (Joint Communiqué on the Malay-Indonesian (Melindo) Spelling). The proposal is widely known as **Ejaan Melindo 1959**. In the joint communiqué it was iterated that both governments were to make the system official not later than

January 1962. Meanwhile due to the Confrontation, the treaty was not realised, and the Melindo spelling - as was the Pembaruan system of 1957 - was never put into practice.

In 1966 at the end of the Confrontation the desire to activate earlier efforts came to the fore again. No attempt was made to implement the Ejaan Melindo in its entirety, as it was found that unsatisfactory principles, as seen from the linguistic point of view, and inefficiencies, as seen from the practical point of view, was prevalent in it. To improve the common spelling the Department of Education and Culture appointed a commission headed by Anton M. Moeliono to draft a new system. The new draft was put before consultation with the (now) Malaysian spelling committee headed by Syen Nasir bin Ismail. As a result the final draft was forwarded to both the Government of Malaysia and the Government of Indonesia. The common spelling system was called Ejaan Baru Bahasa Malaysia in Malaysia and Ejaan Baru Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia - different in name, but identical in substance. (On this common spelling see Harimurti Kridalaksana 1968.)

Both favourable and unfavourable reactions came from various sides, as the result of the New Spelling 1966. Several symposia, conferences and meetings were held to deal with all the reactions of the public. As a consequence, to conform the New Spelling with all the reactions, another draft was drawn; the result of which was the Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan 'Improved Spelling' popularly abbreviated as EYD. A commission to implement and disseminate this system headed by I.B. Mantra was installed. At the termination of the commission's task, the Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan was made official in an executive order no. 57/1972 and announced by President Soeharto before the Parliament.

From the historical survey outlined above it is clear that the endeavour to unify the spelling systems of Malay/Malaysia and Indonesia is simply a continuation and implementation of earlier efforts in both countries. Even from the conceptual point of view there is nothing new in it. Fokker Sr. should be credited as the first scholar who advocated the uniformity of the romanisation of Malay in the Dutch and British colonies (Fokker 1897). In the fifties Denzell-Carr made similar proposals (Carr 1951-2).

### 3. THE EVOLUTION OF INDONESIAN SPELLING

In this paper and in an earlier article (Harimurti Kridalaksana 1968) the focus of the study is on the institutional history of the Indonesian spelling. By 'institutional history' here is meant the history of the principles of all the officially created systems and their applications.

A conceptual history based on the studies and proposals of individual scholars which more or less influenced the officially created systems, is yet to be written.

This section will cover the principles, the choice and naming of the graphs, and the scope of all the systems mentioned in the preceding sections. The reader should remind himself that of the six systems, the Pembaruan 1957, the Melindo 1959 and the New Spelling 1966 were never officially put into practice.

### 3.1. PRINCIPLES OF THE SPELLING SYSTEMS

The Van Ophuijsen Spelling 1901 consists of principles and a list of words; so that the book is substantially a spelling dictionary. The objectives are clearly pedagogical, although phonemic insights are apparent in the formulations.

The Soewandi system 1947 is essentially a simplification and improvement of the Van Ophuijsen system, without any linguistic consideration iterated. The most notable characteristic of this system is the replacement of the Dutch-like *oe* /*u*/ with the more widespread or 'international' *u* (cf. the proposal of the First Congress of Bahasa Indonesia 1938 to teach international spelling in schools), and the elimination of diaeresis and acute accent (cf. the resolution of the First Congress to consider simplification in the future).

The Pembaruan 1957 and the Melindo 1959 systems try to be consistent in the implementation of the one-to-one correspondence between phoneme and grapheme. The New Spelling 1966 and the Improved Spelling 1972, on the other hand, "..... try as far as possible to conform linguistic principles and social conditions by utilising Latin characters not productive in Bahasa Indonesia, without making extreme deviations from international conventions", and without requiring the replacement of existing typewriters and printing implements.

### 3.2. THE CHOICE OF GRAPHS

The following table will be useful in differentiating the spelling systems.



TABLE 1

Van Ophuijsen 1901	Soewandi 1947	Pembaruan 1957	Melindo 1959	New Sp. 1966	Improved Sp. 1972
j	j	y	y	y	
dj	dj	j	j	j	j
nj	nj	ñ	ŋ ɲ	ny	ny
sj	-	ś	š	sy	sy
tj	tj	ṭ	c	c	c
ch	-	-	-	-	kh
ng	ng	ŋ	ŋ	ng	ng
z	-	z	z	z	z
f	-	f	f	f	f
-	-	v	v	v	v
é	e	é	é	e	e
e	e	e	e	e	e
oe	u	u	u	u	u
ai	ai	ay	ay	ai	ai
au	au	aw	aw	au	au
oi	oi	oy	oy	oi	oi

- : not officially prescribed, but the use is quite widespread.

The Van Ophuijsen system uses diaeresis to differentiate *gulaï curry soup* from *gulaï to put sugar into* and to indicate open syllable boundary, e.g. *saät*, *Koerän*. It uses <'> to indicate glottal stop. In the later systems these two diacritic marks were left out.

The use of <c> in the New Spelling 1966 and in the Improved Spelling 1972 to represent /č/ has caused a lot of criticism. The use of the graph is also suggested in the Melindo system 1959, but as this system is never revealed in public, no reaction has been reported. The March 1972 Seminar on Bahasa Indonesia suggested the use of either <ch> or <c> to represent the phoneme.

The Commission on the Implementation and Dissemination of the Improved Spelling offered the following explanations:

The suggestion to use <ch> instead of <c> to represent /č/ is not rejected on a priori grounds. The objection to this suggestion is only systematic in nature: if <tj> is changed to <ch>, as a consequence the old <sj> which represents /š/ should be changed to <sh> (cf. its

use in English spelling), and the old <nj> which represents /ñ/ should be changed to <nh> (cf. its use in Portuguese spelling), then what should the old <ch> which represents /X/ be changed to?

It was also suggested that <ch> will be more easily learned, because of its similarity to the English <ch>. This suggestion is without enough foundation: the English <ch> does not only represents /č/, but also /j/ as in *Chicago*, *machine*, *parachute*, /k/ as in *choir*, *orchid*, *school*, and /X/ as in *loch*.

In the fifties the Commission of Terminology has prescribed the Indonesianisation of the foreign graph <c> as follows:

c that represents /k/ should be written as k

e.g. *carbon* - karbon

*classic* - klasik

c that represents /s/ should be written as s

e.g. *cent* - sen

*civil* - sipil

As seen from the spelling and terminology standardisation up to 1966, the graph <c> can be regarded as unproductive graph; that is the reason why it is given new phonemic value in the 1966 and the 1972 spelling systems.

The use of <c> to represent /č/ is also motivated by the tradition in the romanisation of classical Indonesian languages.

The commission does not find it difficult to use it in the symbolisation of chemical elements and names, as the Geneva Convention on Chemical Nomenclature does not hold the principle of one-to-one correspondence between element and symbol; so that the symbol Ca is used to represent the Indonesianised term kalsium *calcium*, and Cd for kadmium *cadmium* (cf. in English the element gold is symbolised by Au, silver by Ag, sodium by Na, etc.)

### 3.3. THE NAMING OF THE GRAPHS

Letters of the alphabet and the manner of their naming in a language give an identity to the language. English, French, Dutch and German - to mention some well-known languages - use the same alphabet and the same letters, but what distinguishes one language from the other is the manner each names the letters. Indonesian language planners are always aware of the fact. The following table shows how they try to put a distinction to the system which they devise.

TABLE 2

Van Ophuijsen 1901	Soewandi 1947	Pembaruan 1957	Melindo 1959	New Sp. 1966	Improved Sp. 1972
NOT PRESCRIBED		a	a	a	a
		bé	bi	ba	be
		cé(?)	ci/či/	ca/ča/	ca/če/
		dé	di	da	de
		é	e	e	e
		éf	ef	ef	ef
		gé	gi	ga	ge
		ha	ha	ha	ha
		i	i	i	i
		jé/je/	ja/ĵa/	ja/ĵa/	je/ĵe/
		ka	ka	ka	ka
		-	-	kja/Xa/	-
		él	el	el	el
		ém	em	em	em
		én	en	en	en
		-	-	nga/ŋa/	-
		-	-	nya/ña/	-
		o	o	o	o
		pé	pi	pa	pe
		ku	ku	ki	ki
		ér	er	er	er
		és	es	es	es
		-	-	sya/ša/	-
		té	ti	ta	te
		u	u	u	u
		vé	vi	vi	ve
		wé	wa	wa	we
		éks	eks	eks	eks
		yé	ya	ya	ye
		zét	zet	zet	zet

Neither the Van Ophuijsen nor the Soewandi system prescribed the naming of the graphs. Until the *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan* or Improved Spelling was declared official in 1972 to spell the letters Indonesians adhered to the Dutch tradition. It is only natural that the Malaysians adhered to the English tradition.

A mixture of Dutch and English methods of spelling can be seen in the Melindo system, as it was designed to be the common spelling for the two countries.

When the New Spelling 1966 was introduced, the objections were directed not only to the use of the graphs, but also to the naming of the letters. In the 1972 Seminars on Bahasa Indonesia it was suggested to name the letters as presented in Table 2. The Commission on the Implementation and Dissemination of the Improved Spelling accepted the suggestion for the following reasons: (1) it does not entail a change in the proposed use of the graphs and their phonetic value, (2) it will minimise the change of habit that people have to sacrifice as a consequence of the Improved Spelling.

The Malaysian Spelling Committee, on the other hand, has announced that Bahasa Malaysia will retain the existing tradition.

As we can see from Table 2, the New Spelling 1966 tries to prescribe the naming of the digraphs kh, ng, ny, sy. This method was not adopted in the Improved Spelling 1972.

### 3.4. THE SCOPE OF SPELLING STANDARDISATION

On the creation of spelling the New Spelling 1966 put forth the following:

The problem of spelling has three aspects:

1. The phonological aspect, which involves the inventory of Indonesian phonemes, the selection of the graphs to represent them and the composition of an alphabet;
2. The morphological aspect, which involves the representation of morphemic units, such as stems, derivatives, reduplication, compounding, particles, and also a standardised spelling for borrowed elements;
3. The syntactical aspect, which involves utterance and sentence markers represented by punctuation.

The principle that spelling does not represent only the phonemes of a language and does not involve only the use of letters as outlined above are apparent in all the systems under study. There are, however, different degrees of exhaustiveness in their efforts to treat all the aspects of spelling standardisation.

As an example it might be useful to list the items treated by the

Improved Spelling which are as follows:

1. Indonesian alphabet and the naming of the letters
2. vowels, consonants, diphthongs
3. syllabication
4. phonotactics
5. proper nouns in the Improved Spelling
6. capitalisation
7. cursive style
8. morphology: (a) stems  
(b) derivatives  
(c) reduplication  
(d) compounding  
(e) particles  
(f) prepositions
9. numbers
10. assimilation of borrowings: (a) graphemes and phonemes  
(b) grammatical units
11. punctuation.

(Executive Order no. 57/1972 does not treat syllabication, phonotactics and assimilation of borrowings. They are treated in the extended version of the Improved Spelling called *Pedoman Umum Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan* 'Guide of the Improved Spelling' completed after the Improved Spelling was made official, which was agreed upon in substance by both the Indonesian and Malaysian standing committees. The implementation of the *Pedoman*, however, is still to be sanctioned by the ministers of education of both countries.)

The *Pembaruan* system 1957 prescribes the writing of abbreviations and acronyms, but it does not seem to be systematically successful.

In the Improved Spelling 1972, on the other hand, they are dealt with in sections on capitalisation and punctuation.

#### 4. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IMPROVED SPELLING 1972

When the New Spelling was being introduced from 1966 to 1970, objections of both political and technical nature were raised.

Political objections were manifested in such accusations as that the New Spelling was a wholesale imitation of Malaysian spelling, and that its introduction was contrary to the spirit of the Youth Pledge 1928 (samples of such allegations could be found in the newspapers *Suluh Marhaen* and *El Bahar* and the magazine *Sketsa Masyarakat* of that period).

This outburst of emotion is understandable, as at that time a lot of people still suffered from the 'Confrontation trauma'. It might be

appropriate in this conjunction to quote an observer's remark:

A study of the recent Indonesian attempt to equate its spelling with that of Malaysia indicated that the complicated response to a spelling change was a reflection both of the changing political situation and of the pendulum-like political relations of the two countries. The vehemence of the attack on the suggested new spelling was perhaps more closely related to the new era of democracy that arose with Suharto and to opportunities for expression than a rejection of the spelling reform per se. Nonetheless, the criticisms reflected some of the political positions of various vested interests quite well and brought to light social alliances hitherto not clearly defined. (Rubin 1974:497)

Counter-attack against such unwarranted political accusations would no doubt generate political polarisation; and this could be harmful to the welfare of the nation, as the New Order was still in the process of putting political, economic, social and cultural conditions into normalcy.

Yet, to wait until the political and economic stability was reached could be too late and could have damaging effect to Bahasa Indonesia. The years up to 1966 witnessed that politics was the main and only pre-occupation of the government and consequently there was widespread deterioration in the economic, social and cultural sectors. The deterioration was most apparent in the language situation.

It is true that so far Bahasa Indonesia has shown itself capable of being the medium of culture and of national unity. But the following facts proved that up to that time nobody was aware that for a medium of communication maintenance was needed:

1. There was a decline in the appreciation of Bahasa Indonesia as a mark of national identity. There were more and more people, especially the intellectuals, who preferred to use foreign languages as a medium of communication. Also in the governmental circles such a situation was prevalent, whereas the Constitution explicitly stated that Bahasa Indonesia was the state language, so that Bahasa Indonesia should be used in formal and official communication;
2. Deterioration in language performance among students could be detected;
3. Technical and scientific terminology was in a state of confusion;
4. Also there was confusion in the use of spelling, as the official spelling, namely the Soewandi or the Republican system, was not properly observed.

If such development became out of hand, naturally people would not appreciate the important function of Bahasa Indonesia as a unifying factor in the multiethnic nation of Indonesia, the interest to learn Bahasa Indonesia would melt away, and communication in education and

in the sciences would be disintegrated, because of the lack of a standardised terminology, grammar and spelling. In other words, the life of the national language would be endangered, and this would be detrimental to the development of the country itself.

The Department of Education and Culture laid out a tentative plan to "to save the language" by standardising the grammar, terminology and spelling of Bahasa Indonesia. Priority was given to the standardisation of spelling system for the following reasons:

1. A standardised spelling is the foundation for a standardised grammar and terminology;
2. A standardised spelling has a filtering function against influences from other languages;
3. Standardising the spelling is easier to accomplish and it does not take too much time.

As stated above, no counter-attack against political objections were offered. Symposia, seminars and meetings on the Improved Spelling - which was developed from the New Spelling 1966 - were held, but the topic was always technical. Publicity of a technical nature was so efficient that eventually made any kind of antagonism of a political tint seem absurd.

It should be pointed out that publicity on the Improved Spelling was made possible only because the major newspapers of the country took a sympathetic stand for the Improved Spelling.

In the meantime, the general election of 1971 stabilised the political climate of the country and the obstacle that could have prevented the implementation of the Improved Spelling was removed.

A plan was announced for a transitional period of five years, upon which books with the old spelling could still be used, and only new publications and reprints were to be written in the Improved Spelling.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The implementation of the Improved Spelling was made possible because all factions of the society - administrators, educators, publishers, the military and the mass media - were involved. In other words, exactly because it became a national issue, its implementation was realised.

From the technical point of view, to prepare a spelling system is easier to accomplish than to make a standardised terminology and a standardised grammar; hence, of necessity, the standardisation of language should start from the standardisation of spelling. But since it needs a great deal of persuasion on the users, its realisation will

surely take some time.

The practice of standardisation is ultimately a social endeavour: although the linguist as the architect and technician of its linguistic aspect exerts his maximum effort to bring about his idea, he must be prepared for some compromise, as it is the public who will finally decide whether or not his concept is to be put into practice.



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# PHONEMICITY OF PILIPINO ORTHOGRAPHIC SYSTEM: A BLESSING OR A CURSE?

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## 1. BACKGROUND

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

Pilipino<sup>1</sup> (Pil), the Tagalog (Tag)-based national language or to be more accurate, one of the three official languages<sup>2</sup> of the Philippines (the others being English and Spanish), is presently growing phenomenally, largely through borrowing from English (Eng). Pil is now deluged with so many loanwords from Eng - words for new products of modern technology, for new concepts, places, objects of trade, for social changes. In fact, the mixing of Pil and Eng is fast becoming the normal acceptable style these days among the Tag-speaking educated Filipinos<sup>3</sup> (Fils), especially in the Greater Manila Area<sup>4</sup> (GMA).

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<sup>1</sup>Pilipino, in this paper, is being distinguished from its basis, Tagalog. There are many varieties of Tagalog - Bulacan Tagalog, Laguna-Tagalog, Batangas-Tagalog, Nueva Ecija-Tagalog, Bataan-Tagalog, Quezon-Tagalog, etc. which are mutually intelligible but each has its own linguistic peculiarities. Other varieties of Tagalog are found in non-Tagalog regions - Visayan-Tagalog, Ilocano-Tagalog, Pampango-Tagalog, etc., differing from each other according to the influence of the linguistic peculiarities of the region. All of these Tagalog varieties, aside from English, may be said to be now having their own impacts on Manila-Tagalog (Manila being the nerve centre of the country's civilisation - culturally, educationally, technologically, economically, etc.) which may rightfully be called the language that is now being formed in the Greater Manila Area where the natural amalgamation process in the formation of a true national language is now taking place.

<sup>2</sup>Article XV, Section 3 of the 1972 Constitution states that: "Unless otherwise provided by law, English and Pilipino shall be the official languages".

<sup>3</sup>In this paper, Filipino refers to the people; Pilipino to the language. In the 1972 Revised Philippine Constitution, however, "Filipino" is the envisioned national language.

<sup>4</sup>Greater Manila Area is the geographic boundary covering the cities of Manila, Caloocan, Pasay and Quezon, and the municipalities of Makati, Mandaluyong, Pasig and Marikina.

## 1.2. THE CONTACT SITUATION: A CAPSULE HISTORY

The effect of the linguistic and cultural contacts of the Fils with their two former colonial masters - Spain and America - is mirrored in both the spoken and written Tag prevalent especially among the educated Tag-speaking Fils of the GMA. In fact, to an ordinary Spanish or American listener, Tag, with its peculiar intonation and staccato rhythm, will not sound altogether foreign because he will be able to retrieve a hodgepodge of Spanish (Spa) or Eng words woven into its intricate system of affixation. And if the listener is uninitiated, he might suspect that Tag is an Indo-European language, belonging to the same family where Spa or Eng belongs.

A little knowledge of Philippine (Phil) history, however, will make one understand that the Spa and Eng words interspersed in Tag utterances are actually loanwords from the two foreign languages; that such is the result of the contact of Tag with Spa for almost 400 years and with Eng for more than half a century.

Theoretically, the longer the period of contact, the greater would be the linguistic influence of the colonizer's language on that of the colonised. The almost four centuries of Spa rule in the Phil could have completely nativised and replaced the native languages. This did not take place, however. Frake (In Hymes 1971:223), in tracing the origins of the Spa creoles in the Philippines, says that the consequence of hispanisation in the New World and in South-East Asia differed:

In the Phil, in spite of rapid Spa conquest, almost total conversion of Christianity, and over three hundred years of occupation, the Spa language failed to establish itself. Spa replaced no indigenous Phil language, and its role as an auxiliary language was sufficiently tenuous that it was quickly supplanted by Eng after the American occupation. Today, apart from the many Spa loanwords in Phil languages and a few speakers of Spa in the upper echelons of society, the linguistic legacy of Spain in the Phil is limited to the existence of several communities that speak of Spa creole language as their mother tongue.

This is in contrast with Eng, which became more widespread even after only two decades of American rule in the Phil:

By 1918, in the Phil Islands, 49.2% were literate, 26.4% being males and 22.8% being females. Of the literate native population ten years of age and over, the census of 1918 found that 33.9% of the males and 22.4% of the females spoke Eng, while only 30.4% of the males and 16.9% of the females spoke Spa: 32.1% of the males and 21.5% of the females were able to read and write Eng while only 27.0% of the males and 14.5% of the females were able to read and write Spa. The larger proportion of Fils with knowledge of Eng shows

the progress made since implantation of the American educational system.<sup>1</sup>

A study of the differences between the Spanish and the American colonial philosophies, in general, and educational and language policies, in particular, may perhaps help account for the difference in impact of the two languages on the Fils. The Spanish era in the Phil may be characterised simply as one of "raising the cross and thrusting with the sword"<sup>2</sup> and preserving Spa as an aristocratic language available only to the few elites and not to the "Indios". On the other hand, the first thing that the Americans did when they colonised the Phil, in sharp contrast with the Spaniards' indifferent policy, was to educate the Fils and teach them the Eng language side by side with the teaching of the principles of democracy on a massive scale.<sup>3</sup>

There are other factors, of course, that characterised the nature of Spanish and American colonisation in the Phil, besides their differences in policies and attitudes toward language. One of them was the nature of contact itself, i.e., the incentive to learn, where the impact of the Eng language and culture was greater. Another factor was the instructional materials, i.e., there was a dearth of materials in Spa; on the other hand, there was a deluge of Eng materials. (Phelan 1959:132).

Presently, after only more than half a century of contact with Eng, and in spite of the fact that the Phil is no longer under American domination, Eng remains as one of the two official languages of the country. This may be attributed to two principal reasons: (1) Eng continues to be an international language - the language of education, science and technology, diplomacy and foreign relations - serving as

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<sup>1</sup>Census of the Philippines, 1918, II:60-62, quoted by W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), I, 416, n.2.

<sup>2</sup>Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, I, 49, citing a translation of S. Vidal y Soler, *Viajes por Filipinas de F. Jago* (Madrid 1875), p.395.

<sup>3</sup>Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, II. Appendix VII. Following is the pertinent part of President McKinley's instructions to the members of the Civil Commission leaving for the Philippines, which was actually prepared by Elihu Root, Secretary of War, with the help of William H. Taft, Chairman of the Commission:

It will be the duty of the Commission to promote and extend and, as they find occasion, to improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities....The instruction should be given, in the first instance, in every part of the Islands in the language of the people. In view of the great number of language spoken by the different tribes, it is especially important to the prosperity of the Islands that a common medium of communication be established, and it is obviously described that this medium should be the English language.

the Filipinos' link with the outside world, and (2) unlike the Spaniards, the Americans left no legacy of hate among the Fils. As such, the Fils continue to look up to their former colonial master's language as a source of knowledge and advancement. This attitude of the Fils towards Eng facilitates borrowing because there is no psychological barrier that hinders it.

### 1.3. SAMPLES OF SPOKEN PIL

Consider the following samples culled from different spoken sources, just to show the extent of borrowing of Pil from Eng: (Eng loanwords are *italicised* for easy identification.)

SAMPLE 1: (PULONG-PULONG SA KAUNLARAN, 1973, TV: Topic: NCEE Examination; Interviewee - Gerry Geronimo)<sup>1</sup>

...Naghihigpit na rin sila ngayon sa *NCEE Examination* sapagkat *they won't worry about anymore* dito sa sinasabi nilang *decrease in enrolment* sapagkat magkakaroon na rin sila ng *technological, vocational* at saka *occupational courses* so that *they cannot afford anymore to get in people who are not fit for college*. Hindi po ba, Miss Sangalang?

SAMPLE 2: (School campus, PNC; three senior students)<sup>2</sup>

Student A: Uy! Bakit *absent* ka noong *Friday*, ha?

Student B: Nakipag-date ka, ano?

Student A: Nag-*check* ng *attendance* si *sir*. Tapos, nagbigay ng *quiz* tungkol sa mga *lessons* na na-*take up* natin for the whole week.

Student C: Anong *date-date*? *Emergency* ... Namatay ang *grandmother* ko.

Student A: A ganun ba? Wa na 'ko say!

SAMPLE 3: (Culled from the *Pilipino Express*, a daily newspaper, December 1974 issue)

Mag-*click* kaya si Miss Aruba?

Bagong *Research Project* ng BAI

<sup>1</sup>Taken from the September 1973 taperecorded data of Miss Ma. Lourdes Bautista, an Ateneo-PNC Consortium scholar for a Ph.D. in Linguistics, who has depended her dissertation just recently on 'The Filipino Bilingual's Linguistic Competence: A Model Based On An Analysis of Tagalog-English Code Switching'. Miss Bautista's tapes is made up of 1508 utterances distributed among 564 turns of speaking and 22 speakers, 66.31% of which constitute or contain some kind of code switching.

<sup>2</sup>Taperecorded conversation of three PNC Senior Students (4th year, BSEED); Student B conducts the recording without the knowledge of Students A and C.



*Disiplina sa Taxi Drivers*  
*Airport, Pier, at Feeder Road*  
*Bagong Officers ng FAMAS*  
*Ang Role ng Mass Media sa Bagong Lipunan*  
*Induced Abortion, Kinondena ng Papa*

SAMPLE 4: (Titles of Pil movies which are current in the GMA)

*VOD-A-VIL*  
*KING KHAYAM AND I*  
*KAPITAN EDDIE SET: MAD KILLER OF CAVITE*  
*OH, MARGIE, OH*  
*DRAGON FORCE CONNECTION*  
*MISSION: GET THE KILLERS ON THE LOOSE*

SAMPLE 5: (Two Teachers Talking about Family Planning and Contraceptives)<sup>1</sup>

Teacher A: *Sabi nila, ang Ovulation Method ay pareho rin ng pills, kaya lang... hindi ba mayroon tayong tinatawag na safe period at meron naman tayong tinatawag na fertile period, ano? Ngayon, right after menstruation, nagkakaroon tayo ng sticky...*

Teacher B: *Sticky secretion?*

Teacher A: *Oo, sticky secretion. Tapos noon, mga three days 'yon. After that, magkakaroon ka ng three days to five days na parang slippery. Doon sa mga days na iyon talagang fertile ka.*

It should be made clear at this point that it is not my intention to imply that the above is already THE Pil that we in the Phil have. There is the elegant Pil that is usually found in formal literary pieces. Rather, what I would like to show here is the type of Pil which, I am sure, is having its impact on the written Pil.

## 2. STANDARDISATION AND THE PROBLEM OF BORROWING

Logically, language standardisation (LS) should be given a correspondingly 'standardised' definition. However, as Ferguson (1968:31) claims, the "process of LS is not well understood yet". Perhaps it is because there is no certainty yet as to how certain language reaching

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<sup>1</sup>Taken from the data in a Project Paper, 1974, titled 'The Greater Manila Speech Community: Bilingual and/or Diglossic?' by seven students in the Ateneo-PNC Consortium for a Ph.D. in Linguistics: Sis. Mary Angela Barrios, Emma S. Castillo, Rosita C. Galang, Paulina C. Santos, Norma C. Tiangco, Elvira C. Vergara, and Esperanza C. Villamor.

its ideal state of standardisation would really 'look like', linguistically speaking.

Language scholars talk of the processes, dimensions, or criteria that should be considered in LS. Haugen (1966:249-252), for instance, formulated a four-step process as shown in the following matrix:

	<i>Form</i>	<i>Function</i>
<i>Society</i>	selection	acceptance
<i>Language</i>	codification	elaboration

Borrowing may be subsumed under codification.

Ferguson (1968:27), on the other hand, posits three dimensions for measuring language development: (1) graphisation - the use of writing, (2) standardisation - the development and use of super-dialectal norm, and (3) modernisation - the development of vocabulary and forms of discourse. Borrowing here falls under graphisation which is almost synonymous with codification.

Garvin and Mathiot (In Fishman 1968) give more embracing criteria for LS which may be outlined as follows:

1. Properties of a SL:
  - a. Flexible Stability
  - b. Intellectualisation
2. Functions of a SL:
  - a. Symbolic Functions
    1. Unifying Function
    2. Separatist Function
    3. Prestige Function
  - b. Objective Function
    1. Frame-of-Reference Function
3. Attitudes
  - a. Language Loyalty
  - b. Pride and Awareness of Norm.

Borrowing falls under flexible stability which refers to the requirement that a SL be stabilised by appropriate codification and that the codification be flexible enough to allow for modification in line with cultural change (Garvin 1964:521). Applied to Pil, codification mainly involves the writing of grammar books, dictionaries, thesaurus, encyclopedias, textbooks, etc. And before any of these can be produced, the problem of how borrowed words are to be spelled should first be resolved. In the writing of textbooks alone, the writer is usually perplexed by the problem of how certain borrowed words from Eng should be spelled. If, however, he tries to avoid borrowing, he ends up by producing a material which is puristic, unnatural, and archaic.

Specifically, language scholars also talk of standardisation of language in phonology, vocabulary, grammar, affixes, spelling, etc. Very seldom, if ever, do they dwell lengthily and seriously on the standardisation of borrowing. This is understandable, because the



problem of how to borrow surfaces only when a language with a phonemic system of spelling borrows from a language with a non-phonemic system. Besides, each set of languages in contact should have its own style of borrowing because of the different factors involved.

This problem on borrowing has lately been becoming a really serious problem among the agglutinative Malayo-Polynesian languages of Asia which use a phonemic Romanised graphic symbols. Note that this problem does not arise when the borrowing is from a language with a phonemic spelling system to a language with a non-phonemic system. There will be no problem, for instance, if Eng borrows from Pil because any word from Pil can enter into Eng without any spelling problem.

Pil, as has been mentioned earlier, has been enriching itself through borrowing (first from Spa and now) from Eng, the languages of its two former colonial masters. To prove this, take away all the Spa and Eng words from Pil and there will be a communication breakdown among its users. Borrowing then, as a process, has been playing a major role in the development of Pil. And if Pil has to be standardised in the future, it is only logical to anticipate that its manner of borrowing, specifically from Eng, should merit serious attention from language scholars and academicians. And I say it should be now or never.

## 2.1. THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF PIL AND ENG ORTHOGRAPHIES

The borrowing process that takes place between Eng and Pil is not as simple as may have been thought of. There is a serious problem that, to the unwary, may appear to be merely a molehill from a distance but actually will loom to be a big mountain when viewed at close range. I am referring to the incompatibility between the spelling system used by the two languages; i.e., the spelling system of Pil is phonemic or consistent whereas that of Eng is non-phonemic or inconsistent. By phonemic spelling system, I mean there is a one-to-one correspondence between the phoneme or significant sound and the graphic representation.

Pil is considered phonemic because each of the 21 phonemes (except the glottal stop which is treated under the stress system) is regularly represented by only one symbol or letter. The voiceless bilabial stop phoneme /k/, for instance, is always represented by the letter 'k' in all positions, e.g. kilay eyebrow, siko elbow, batok nape of neck.

On the other hand, Eng is said to have a non-phonemic or inconsistent spelling system because a phoneme in this language is not regularly represented by only one symbol. Our example phoneme /k/ in Pil, for instance, is represented by 'k' in kit, by 'ch' in cholera, by 'ck' in chick, by 'c' in car, by 'qu' in quatter, by 'que' in quisique, etc.

## 2.2. STANDARDISATION VS. PHONEMIC OR NON-PHONEMIC ORTHOGRAPHY

A few linguists stubbornly insist that the spelling system of Eng is very consistent, claiming that it is more consistent than that of Pil, thinking perhaps that inconsistency is a liability to the Eng language. It should be made clear that phonemicity in the spelling system is not synonymous with being standardised. The orthography of Eng is said to be the most inconsistent system among the languages using the Romanised graphic symbols. And yet it is standardised in the sense that all Eng words are uniformly spelled by the Americans. In fact, the inconsistency of the Eng spelling system is an asset if we talk of homophonous words which are differentiated in meaning because of their differences in spelling. Example: *right, rite, write, wright*.

On the other hand, Pil orthography is phonemic but it can not yet be considered standardised because there are instances when certain words can be spelled in different ways and yet the meaning is the same, depending on how they are pronounced and spelled by the writers. Example: *idea, ideya, idiya, aydiya, aydeya, aydya*. In this particular instance, it becomes clear that the spelling of a certain word in a language having a phonemic system of spelling like Pil will become standardised only after its pronunciation has been standardised. In other words, the phonological problem here is not the number of phonemes of Pil, neither its syllable structures, but the varying pronunciations and spellings which mirror the confusion of the Fils in borrowing because of the influence of two major traditions - Spa and Eng.

In this particular instance, therefore, a non-phonemic spelling system proves to be more adequate than a phonemic spelling system.

## 2.3. READING VS. PHONEMIC AND NON-PHONEMIC ORTHOGRAPHIES

If we shift, however, to the teaching of beginning reading, all things being equal, children take twice or thrice as long to learn to read via the Eng non-phonemic spelling system as comparable children do in learning to read via the Pil phonemic spelling system. This is not difficult to illustrate. In Pilipino, the syllabic method of teaching reading has been found to be the most effective way because after teaching the child all the syllable structures in that language he finds it easy to read all phonemically spelled words in Pil. For instance, the original four syllable structures of Tag (V, CV, VC, CVC) which has been used as the basis of Pil is now expanded into at least nine with the addition of the following syllable structures: CCV, VCC, CCVC, CVCC, and CCVCC. The addition of the five syllable structures, in a way, facilitates the accommodation of assimilation of foreign

words with syllable initial and/or final consonant clusters.

The syllabic method, on the other hand, is not possible in Eng because of the inconsistency of its spelling system. It does not mean, for example, that if the learner can already read *Christ* or *child*, he can also read *Christmas* and *children*. Consider also *height-weight*, *speak-steak* etc. And because of the inconsistency of the spelling system of Eng, different methods and approaches in the teaching of beginning reading are being devised by reading experts in that language. The tragic part of this situation is that some Pil educators, who still suffer from the 'Stateside' mentality or syndrome, adopt for Pil the different reading methods being used in Eng, forgetting that what is effective for Eng is not necessarily effective also for Pil.

### 3. REASONS WHY PIL BORROWS FROM ENG

Borrowing in language is a concomitance of cultural influence. In fact, sociolinguists claim that the language of a country mirrors the extent of its cultural contacts with other countries. And the flow of linguistic borrowing generally follows the normal flow of cultural influence - from the more progressive towards the less progressive countries. Between America and the Phil, one can easily see that linguistic borrowing is almost a one-way affair - from the coloniser towards the colonised - because culture diffusion takes the same route.

Why does Pil borrow from Eng? Goulet (1971:83-6) gives seven reasons as follows: (1) for *precision*, i.e., Eng words give the exact meaning the speaker wants to convey; (2) for *comic effect*, i.e., mixing is very effective in creating humour; (3) for *transition*, i.e., a shift in language may mark a transition in thought; (4) for *atmosphere*, i.e., Pil heavily laced with Eng expressions conveys a 'Stateside' effect; (5) for *creating social distance*, i.e., 'distance' is created between two interlocutors when one starts speaking purely in Eng; (6) for *snob appeal*, i.e., parents may try to set off their children from those of their neighbours by teaching them Eng as a first language; (7) for *secrecy*, i.e., parents who do not want their small children to understand the conversation at a particular moment resort to mixing of Eng with the vernacular.

For purposes of this paper, however, I would like to limit my discussion to only three factors: *Need Factor*, *Prestige Factor*, and *Orientation Factor*.

### 3.1. THE NEED FACTOR

A speaker of Fil borrows words from Eng because there is a need for them. Usually, it is easier and more practical to borrow an already existing term from the influencing or donor language than to look for its equivalent in the recipient or borrowing language, or to coin or invent one. Besides, the borrowed word is usually more precise than its equivalent or coined term in the borrowing language because of the tie-up between culture and language. A borrowed word is tied-up with the culture where the donor language is rooted. Any translation or supposedly equivalent term in the borrowing language is also tied-up with its own culture and, therefore, the meaning that each word carries will never be exactly synonymous.

### 3.2. THE PRESTIGE FACTOR

Eng, being the language of the Fils' former colonial masters, and because of the important role it plays in today's world affairs, is looked up to as an instrument for social, cultural, educational, and economic advancement. There are instances when a speaker of Fil borrows an Eng term not because of the need for it but because of the air of prestige that goes with it. For a Fil to be able to embellish his speech with Eng borrowings is an indication that he is educated and, therefore, should be accorded more respect than others who speak purely in Fil.

### 3.3. THE ORIENTATION FACTOR

A Fil who has earned a degree through Eng can naturally express himself most effectively through that same language in the discussion of intellectual matters in line with his specific area of specialisation. A lawyer, for instance, who has been educated in Eng can argue in court the case of his client more eloquently in that same language. If he uses Fil, he will find himself groping for local terminology that would convey the idea or concept that he learned through Eng. Besides, languages are not like material objects or instruments that we can always use alternately or separately according to our needs. Languages are tools of the mind, existing only in our thoughts - in other words, metaphysical. And during the communication process, we retrieve from our repertoire of lexicon the vocabulary which is easiest to retrieve and which we believe is more appropriate and precise for the message we would like to convey. This retrieving process results in the borrowing of words from Eng by a Fil who has been educated principally through Eng but trying to communicate through Fil. And this language

mixing or shifting will continue to happen in the Phil in spite of the policy of the Department of Education and Culture on the separate use of Pil and Eng as media of instruction in definite subject areas.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. BARRIERS TO BORROWING

All languages are capable of borrowing from other languages. In fact, no language in the world is pure or completely free of borrowed words. Somehow a language borrows from other languages especially now that the world is shrinking so fast. Whinnom (In Hymes 1971:66), however, specifies four types of barriers to the hybridisation of two languages in contact: ecological which refers to the nature of the contact, e.g. geographical, political, commercial, etc., ethological which refers to the attitudes of the speakers of the borrowing language, e.g. hostile relationship hinders borrowing while cordial relationship facilitates it; conceptual which refers to the inner linguistic form, e.g. the mode of perception of reality, ideas of hierarchy, contrast, concepts which are reflected in the semantic and syntactical structures of the speakers; language; mechanical which refers to the outer linguistic form, e.g. phonological structural incompatibility, phonemic and non-phonemic orthographic system.

If we examine the borrowing process that is taking place between Pil and Eng we will note that the first two types do not exist as barriers. Geographically, the Phil and the U.S.A. are on the opposite sides of the globe but the Phil has been colonised by the latter and

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<sup>1</sup>In consonance with the provisions of the 1972 Constitution and a declared policy of the National Board of Education on bilingualism in the schools, in order to develop a bilingual nation competent in the use of both English and Pilipino, the Department of Education and Culture hereby promulgates the following guidelines for the implementation of the policy:

- a. Bilingual education is defined, operationally, as the separate use of Pilipino and English as media of instruction in definite subject areas, provided that additionally, Arabic shall be used in the areas where it is necessary.
- b. The use of English and Pilipino as media of instruction shall begin in Grade I in all schools. In Grades I and II, the vernacular used in the locality or place where the school is located shall be the auxiliary medium of instruction; this use of the vernacular shall be resorted to only when necessary to facilitate understanding of the concepts being taught through the prescribed medium for the subject, English, Pilipino, or Arabic, as the case may be.
- c. English and Pilipino shall be taught as language subjects in all grades in the elementary and secondary schools to achieve the goal of bilingualism.
- d. Pilipino shall be used as medium of instruction in the following subject areas: social studies, social science, character education, word education, health education and physical education.

the political relationship has been relatively cordial ever since. The conceptual type of barrier may also actually be a barrier in the borrowing process but what I would like to focus on right now is the mechanical type of barrier - specifically, the incompatibility of the spelling systems of the two languages involved: the phonemicity of that of Pil and the non-phonemicity of that of Eng (as discussed in 2.1.). Eng words can be generally classified into two: (1) those that are phonemically or consistently spelled, and (2) those that are not phonemically or are inconsistently spelled. Consistently spelled Eng words, when borrowed into Pil, do not create any problem. Words like *transistor*, *apartment*, *desk ruler*, *pentel pen*, *bonus*, etc. easily become part of the Pil lexicon because they easily fit into its phonemic orthographic system.

The problem, and this is a serious problem, is when inconsistently spelled Eng words are borrowed into Pil. As expected, there is no problem during the spoken stage of the borrowing process. The problem surfaces only during the written stage, especially during formal language use and in the preparation of translation or instructional materials for educational purposes.

## 5. BORROWING: PIL STYLE

I will attempt to show here a seemingly standard way, perhaps a pattern, of borrowing words from Eng although this can be considered as strictly tentative because of the unpredictability of the atmosphere of the contact situation, specifically the attitudes of the Pils.

I have tried to isolate here three styles or types or ways of borrowing from Eng to Pil. There may be other styles but allow me to limit myself to only three which I consider most prevalent.

### 5.1. STYLE 1: BORROWING VIA SPA

Although unique, this is the most popular style of borrowing from Eng to Pil nowadays. It is brought about by the hangover from a system of borrowing from Spa which up to this time proves to be the most convenient way to most Pils. This style of borrowing is resorted to because of the spelling incompatibility of Eng and Pil. Notice that it is easier to borrow from Spa because its orthography is also classified as phonemic although there are phonemes in that language that are represented by more than one graphic symbol but in a regular, mutually exclusive manner, e.g. the phoneme /k/ in *casa house*, *porque because*, *quinta market*, *circo circus*, *curva curve*.



Here is how borrowing via Spa is done:

1. An Eng word is borrowed, e.g. *electricity*;
2. Then its equivalent in Spa is taken - *electricidad*;
3. Then the Spa equivalent is spelled according to the Pil orthography - *elektrisidad*.

Of course this is possible only under two conditions: (1) If the Spa and Eng words are cognates as manifested by the general similarity of their phonetic features, and (2) if the equivalent Spa word is understood and used by the Fils.

Other samples for Style 1:

ENG	SPA	PIL
1. <i>population</i> <i>situation</i>	<i>populacion</i> <i>situacion</i>	<i>popuiasyon</i> <i>sitwasyon</i>
2. <i>liquid</i> <i>atom</i>	<i>liquido</i> <i>atomo</i>	<i>likido</i> <i>atomo</i>
3. <i>delegate</i> <i>delicate</i>	<i>delegado</i> <i>delecado</i>	<i>delegado</i> <i>deiikado</i>
4. <i>biology</i> <i>anthropology</i>	<i>biologia</i> <i>antropologia</i>	<i>biyoihiya</i> <i>antropoihiya</i>
5. <i>mathematics</i> <i>linguistics</i>	<i>matematica</i> <i>linguistica</i>	<i>matematika</i> <i>linggwistika</i>
6. <i>barricade</i> <i>lemonade</i>	<i>baricada</i> <i>lemonada</i>	<i>barikada</i> <i>lemonada</i>
7. <i>cemetery</i> <i>monastery</i>	<i>cementerio</i> <i>monasterio</i>	<i>sementerio</i> <i>monasteryo</i>
8. <i>specialist</i> <i>economist</i>	<i>specialista</i> <i>economista</i>	<i>ispesyalista</i> <i>ekonomista</i>
9. <i>ceremony</i> <i>colony</i>	<i>ceremonia</i> <i>colonia</i>	<i>seremonya</i> <i>kolonya</i>
10. <i>communism</i> <i>colonialism</i>	<i>comunismo</i> <i>coioniaiismo</i>	<i>komunismo</i> <i>kolonyalismo</i>

## 5.2. STYLE 2: BORROWING DIRECT FROM ENG WITH SPELLING ADAPTATION

This style of borrowing - directly getting the Eng word and then re-spelling it according to the system used for Pil - is resorted to under also two conditions:

- (1) If Style 1 does not apply; i.e. if there is no Spa equivalent that is acceptable and understood by the Fils, and

(2) if there is no indigenous term that can be used as translation of the Eng word.

The advantage of adapting loanwords into the Pil orthographic system is simple: Pil has an infix which Eng does not have. Infixation is practical only in a language which has a phonemic spelling system.

Initially, 'Pilipinised' loans may appear ridiculous, especially to those Fils who have been oriented and exposed so much with the Eng language. In fact, because Eng is still the principal language of education in the Phil, the Eng spelling of certain words are usually learned first by the learner. He gets so used to the visual image of these words in Eng that he reacts negatively when they are spelled according to the Pil orthography. This is the problem that entails when, as a result of conquest, the 'upper' language co-exists with the 'lower' language as one of the official languages and remains to be the principal medium for the intellectual pursuits of the natives.

The disadvantage, therefore, of this style is that the borrower sounds as being barely able to read and write in the Eng language; as if he spells the Eng loanwords according to the Pil orthography because he does not know how to write it in Eng. In fact, there are not a few instances in the classroom wherein the teacher in Pil is being corrected by her pupils for 'mis-spelling' a word which they know very well in Eng.

Here are some examples for Style 2:

ENG	PIL
<i>Christmas Tree</i>	Krismas Tri
	(*Puno na Pamasko)

We have Pil equivalent for *Christmas* - Pasko - but not for *Christmas Tree*.

<i>smuggle</i>	ismagel
<i>He smuggles gold.</i>	Nag-iismagel siya ng ginto.
	(*Nag-ismuggle siya ng ginto)

Notice that letter 'i' is very necessary for the word ismagel. We cannot adopt *smuggle* as is because there will be a problem in affixation. Nag-iismagel is in the present progressive tense while nag-ismuggle is already in the past tense.

<i>coach</i>	kots
<i>Did you coach him?</i>	Ikinots mo ba siya?
	(*Icinoach)

Notice also that it is not possible to put an infix in *coach*.

<i>tricycle</i>	traysikel
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The equivalent we give for *bicycle* is bisikleta by way of Style 1.



*Tricycle*, however, is not *trisikleta* but *traysikel* by way of Style 2. There is a possibility that ten years hence, *bisikleta* may be replaced by *baysikel* as a manifestation of the strong impact of Eng loanwords.

### 5.3. STYLE 3: BORROWING DIRECT FROM ENG WITH NO SPELLING ADAPTATION

This style - no change in spelling - is used for technical or scientific terms and proper names. Usually this is resorted to when Styles 1 and 2 do not apply. It is here where the eleven letters (c, ch, f, j, ll, ñ, rr, q, v, x, z.) added by the INL to the former 20-letter *Abakada* are used.

This style of borrowing should not be cause for alarm to the conservatives of the language. If Pil has to be standardised, its orthography should possess that property of flexible stability (as discussed in 2.). No language can survive the onslaught of modernisation if it clings to a rigid spelling system. Strict adherence to phonemicity in spelling cripples the natural growth of any language. Restraint, however, should be observed because while flexibility is important, stability is equally important. Borrowing without restraint will soon 'de-stabilise' Pil as a result of the overpowering impact of Eng as the 'upper' language. And this means death for Pil and the emergence of a creolised variety of Eng.

Here are some examples for Style 3:

xerox	lingua franca	Frigidaire
Manila Zoo	chess	Quezon City
Coke	Juan de la Cruz	visa

It should be made clear at this point that the inclusion of the eleven letters of the 20-letter *Abakada* does not mean that the problem of borrowing words from Eng is already solved. As explained earlier, this is not a matter of merely pairing letters between the two languages. There is no doubt, the addition of the 11 letters facilitates borrowing under Style 3. Moreover, the rigidity of the *Abakada* has been made flexible through the addition of the 11 letters. Notice, however, that the added 11 letters will add to the confusion on spelling if we do not know how to handle them. In other words, the use of the 11 letters should be limited only to technical and scientific terms and proper names. Never should they be included in the spelling of common words. Let me illustrate what I mean. *Coffee*, for example, is *kape* in Pil. However, if there will be no restriction in the use of 'c' and 'f', the following forms can be acceptable: *cape*, *kafe*, *cafe*, *kape*. And to further add to the confusion, we can still add the following forms: *kofi*, *copi*, *kopi*, *cofi*.

## 6. CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Is the phonemicity of its spelling system a blessing to Pil because it is relatively very easy to learn to read in this system or is it a curse because it dooms the language by way of hindering the assimilation of inconsistently spelled loans from Eng?

A phonemic spelling system is ideal for any language. In fact, even Eng is going towards consistency or regularisation in its spelling system. But languages continually impinge upon one another as a result of culture diffusion. As such, the lexicon, the phonology, and even the syntax, the affixes, the spelling of a language are exposed to the influence of other languages. Most languages, in fact, usually start with a phonemic spelling system but because of contact with other languages, they eventually become inconsistent as a result of borrowing.

Pilipino is now at the crossroads, literally speaking, not knowing what to do with the avalanche of Eng loanwords. While it delights itself in having a phonemic or consistent spelling system which did not become a problem during its contact with Spanish, it is now finding itself inadequate in assimilating the inconsistently spelled loans from Eng.

This paper focuses on the following problems which I believe should be resolved if a standardised system of borrowing as part of the development of Pilipino has to be adopted: Should the phonemic spelling system of Pil be abandoned to facilitate the borrowing of the inconsistently spelled words from Eng? If so, may this not let loose a deluge of loans (words, phrases, sentences) from Eng which will 'inundate' Pil - drastically changing its phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties, corrupting and 'bastardising' it, thus becoming eventually creolised? On the other hand, if the phonemicity of the spelling system of Pil is maintained, may this not be a sure way of crippling the natural growth of the language because assimilating the Eng inconsistently spelled loanwords becomes a problem?

My position is this: Both extremes are bad for Pil. For instance, Pil will not be standardised nor modernised by stubbornly clinging to a rigid 20-letter Abakada. There must be some flexibility, an 'elbow room' for the language by way of relaxing its inflexible system of borrowing. And flexibility may be attained through the three styles of borrowing as discussed in this paper. On the other hand, stability should also be maintained by way of putting some constraints in borrowing. I agree with Dauzat as quoted by Weinreich (1970:67) who says that the vocabulary of a language is the one most exposed to influence; then the phonology follows; then the syntax, and then the "morphology

... the fortress of a language, surrenders last." In other words, Pil is still Pil as long as its affixes are Pil. Let Pil borrow the nouns, the adjectives, the verbs, from Eng but let us not "surrender" to Eng the Pil affixes. So far, no Eng affixes as separate morphemes has yet entered Pil.

Let Pil enrich itself, therefore, by borrowing from Eng. What we envision for Pil is a language which is virile and dynamic, a language which is still recognisable as a Phil language, enriched by heavy Eng borrowings, even exceeding perhaps the borrowings from Spa. We dream of a language that will be used and proudly owned not only by the Tagalogs but by all Fils, Tagalogs or non-Tagalogs alike, a language which will mirror the Fils as a distinct race who, as a consequence of fate and history, belongs to a nation of mixed tongues and mixed cultures, Fils who is no longer parochial in outlook and disposition.

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# THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY AND THE MINORITY GROUPS IN THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM<sup>1</sup>

Nguyễn Đăng Liêm

1. Vietnamese and The National Education Policy
2. Minority Languages, Status, and Scripts
3. The Minority Group Education Programme

## 1. VIETNAMESE AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY

Vietnamese, spoken by an estimated population of 35,000,000 in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, is an Austroasiatic language (Haudricourt 1953: I.122-128). It is the standard official language of the Republic of Vietnam which makes use of a Roman alphabet created or systematised by Alexander of Rhodes in the seventeenth century. It has a sizable literature with a history of several centuries including poetry, prose, and religious works written in Chinese characters (Chữ Hán), Demotic characters (Chữ Nôm) which are thought to have been devised by Hàn-Thuyên in the fourteenth century, or the National (Roman) Alphabet (Chữ Quốc-Ngữ) (DeFrancis forthcoming).

Vietnamese is embedded in a national culture which, although deeply influenced by the Chinese culture, is different from it. It has been the medium of instruction at the elementary and secondary levels for roughly speaking a quarter of a century, and it was made the vernacular

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<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Vietnam Branch for the documentation for this paper, and particularly to Dr. David D. Thomas whose ideas in the paper 'Vietnamese, Minority Languages, and French in Vietnam: the State of the Art; he co-authored with me bear a strong influence on this paper. However, errors and misinterpretations are naturally mine.

in all university classes except those taught by foreign professors in 1965-1966 (Ministry of Education 1966:44).

The Vietnamese educational system is planned by the Ministry of Culture, Education, and Youth, and is uniform throughout the country including the regions inhabited by the minority groups. This system is based upon the following general principles, according to decree No. 1005-GD/ND of July 16, 1969 (Ministry of Education 1969:viii):

1. Vietnamese education is humanistic in the sense that it respects the sacred value of mankind and that it aims at developing all the aspects of the human being.
2. Vietnamese education is national in that it respects the traditional values related to the ways of life of the Vietnamese such as the family, the professions, the geographic heritage and that it aims at effectively contributing to the development of the nation.
3. Vietnamese education is open in that it respects scientific spirit, develops democratic and social spirit, and accepts the essence of the cultures of the world.

During the Ngô Đình Diêm period (1956-1963), such a strictly Vietnamese-oriented educational policy was applied without any modification in minority schools, and the official policy was the assimilation of the minorities, both culturally and linguistically, to the majority Vietnamese culture and language. This of course aroused deep-seated opposition from the minorities, who understandably considered their cultures and languages a priceless heritage, and contributed to the formation in 1958 of an organisation called FULRO from the French Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées (United Fighting Front of Oppressed Races).

After the overthrow of Ngô Đình Diêm, General Nguyễn Khánh as the Head of State made a speech on October 17, 1964 in Pleiku in which he guaranteed to the minorities the right to use their languages and have them taught in the schools in these terms:

"At the elementary level, regional languages will be especially taught in parallel with Vietnamese."

This was followed by a document from the Ministry of Education No. 474-GD/KH/I dated October 28, 1964 re-affirming the guarantee in these terms:

"Allow the Highlands students to learn their native languages throughout the elementary level in parallel with Vietnamese".

In 1965 the Directorate of Elementary Education proposed a curriculum for the teaching of minority languages in the schools (No. 670-HC/Mh, dated March 4, 1965). This was never implemented, however, both for lack of textbooks and for lack of firm decrees from the Ministry of



Education.

In 1966 a joint commission from the Ministry of Education, the Commissariat for Ethnic Minorities, and the United States Agency for International Development requested the Summer Institute of Linguistics to take responsibility for the development of textbooks and the training of teachers for a Highlander Education Project. (This project will be discussed later in this paper.)

In 1967 presidential decree No. 0033/67 dated August 29, 1967 re-affirmed that minority languages could be used in the elementary grades in these terms:

"At the elementary level, regional languages will be taught along with Vietnamese. The regional language programs will emphasize the customs and traditions of the ethnic peoples."

In 1968 the Ministry of Education issued decree No. 1399-GDTN/PC/CT, dated August 28, 1968 authorising the opening of a Sixth Form, later called the Primer Grade, for minority children to read and write their mother tongue. This was followed in 1972 by decree No. 3263/GD/KHPC/HV, dated November 18, 1972 authorising a bilingual programme for 1st and 2nd Grades. The programme for teaching minority languages in Grades 3, 4, and 5 has not been spelled out in detail yet nor textbooks prepared. Meanwhile, the Ministry for the Development of the Ethnic Minorities was created. In 1971 it became concerned over the literacy rate among the adult minorities. In co-operation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Ministry developed a programme to teach adults to read and write their own languages, and using this as a springboard, to increase their proficiency in the Vietnamese language. Such a programme was begun in 1972, decree No. 007818/ST/DS/GD, dated July 26, 1972 of the Ministry of the Development of the Ethnic Minorities. It calls for three months learning to read and write in the minority language, one month of transition to literacy in Vietnamese, and further less formally structured practice in Vietnamese.

## 2. MINORITY LANGUAGES, STATUS, AND SCRIPTS

### 2.1. SOUTHERN MONTAGNARD LANGUAGES

The montagnards native to South Vietnam belong to two major language families: Mon-Khmer (Katuic and Bahnaric) and Austronesian (Chamic). The Katuic languages that are or have been taught as first languages include Brū, Pacoh, and Katu. The Bahnaric languages that are or have been taught as first languages include Cua, Jeh, Sedang, Halang, (Rengao), Bahnar, Hré, Central Mnong, Kono, Stiêng, and Chrau Jro. The Chamic montagnard languages that are or have been taught as first

languages include Radê, Jorai, (Haroi), (Northern Roglai), and Chru. (Re: Appendices I and II).

According to Thomas, all of these languages are recognised in the official reports of the Ministry for the Development of Ethnic Minorities. These languages are all using Vietnamese-based Roman scripts. A unified French-based script was decreed immediately after World War II, based on the recommendations of a commission headed by Professor François Martini, but with the departure of the French from Vietnam shortly afterward, this writing system was little used.

The languages of the central plateau, also according to Thomas, under the influence especially of Radê and Bahnar, have a fairly uniform system, marking short vowels with a breve, leaving long vowels unmarked, and using a breve also to mark final glottal stop. The Radê area uses a barred b, barred d, and dj for the pre-glottals. Radê and Jorai use č and ñ for the palatals, though there has been some pressure to change to ch and nh. The Bahnar area uses ch and nh like Vietnamese.

The languages of the other mountain areas and of the lowlands, also according to Thomas, are not unified. Varying with the different phonemic systems and the different local pressures, these languages mark length with a grave or by doubling the vowel, or mark shortness with a breve or an acute. Many of them write final glottal stop with a q. Pre-glottalisation may be marked using either the Radê or Bahnar system or using only Vietnamese letters and writing the pre-glottals with b, d, and the lenis counterparts with v, d, or by marking pre-glottals with an apostrophe.

Languages with register contrast generally use a grave for lax register, or an acute for tense. Only Brū marks lax register with a tilde. Pacoh uses breve for tense, as acute is used for short vowels.

## 2.2. NORTHERN MONTAGNARD LANGUAGES

Following the signing of the Geneva peace treaty in 1954 many northern tribespeople joined the evacuation to South Vietnam. These re-settled in various areas in the lowlands and the highlands, so their families and settlements are widely scattered. Large numbers of Nung came south, smaller numbers of the other tribes. The Tai languages that are or have been taught as first languages include White Tai, Black Tai, Nung, and Tho. Muong, of the Viet-Muong language family, has also been taught (not in South Vietnam) as the first language. Other northern languages which have not been taught as first languages in South Vietnam include the Tai languages Red Tai, Nhang, and the Miao-Yao languages Meo (Miao) and Man (Yao).

White Tai, Black Tai, and Red Tai all have old Indian-based scripts

somewhat similar to Lao, and some of the older people can still read and write it. There is also a romanisation devised by Martini which still commands some loyalty. But the trend among the younger people is to use a Vietnamese-based romanisation, since all their education is in Vietnamese, according to Thomas.

The other northern languages did not have any previous writing tradition, but now write their languages using Vietnamese-based romanisations.

### 2.3. CHAM

Though linguistically very closely related to the other Chamic languages, culturally Cham is very different. In fact, according to D. Blood, there are two distinct Cham cultures, the Hindu and the Moslem, existing side by side in neighbouring villages. The Chams in Cambodia are Moslem, and their dialect is somewhat different from the Chams of the Phan Rang area of Vietnam. The Chams are officially recognised as a minority group, but they resent any attempts to classify them as montagnards, according to D. Blood.

Cham has an old Indian-based script which is still read and written by the old scholars. Because of the difficulty of the script, however, a Vietnamese-based romanisation is being introduced in the schools to aid mass literacy.

### 2.4. KHMER

Khmer (Cambodian) is the mother tongue of many people in the Mekong delta. The Khmers are not under the official aegis of the Ministry for Development of the Ethnic Minorities but have a separate, somewhat ambiguous, status. Khmer is written with an Indian-based script. There is no special education programme for the Khmer yet.

## 3. THE MINORITY GROUP EDUCATION PROGRAMME

### 3.1. TEXTBOOK PREPARATION AND CURRICULUM

As it was said earlier in this paper, in 1966 a joint commission from the Ministry of Education, the then Commissariat for Ethnic Minorities and now Ministry for Development of Ethnic Minorities, and USAID Mission requested the Summer Institute of Linguistics to take responsibility for the development of textbooks and the training of teachers for a Highland Education Project. The initial stage of this project took the four major languages Bahnar, Jorai, Radê, and Kôho. International literacy consultant Dr. Sarah Gudschinsky was called in

to draw up the general programme and curriculum and lay out appropriate pedagogical methods for the textbooks. The project was turned over to Dr. Ernest Lee, under whose guidance textbooks started coming off the press in 1967. The next stage broadened the project to include Cham, Brū, Central Mnong, and Hrê. The third stage added Jeh, Sedang, Chrau Jro, Chru, and North Røglai. The basic texts in these languages were completed in early 1972. The Summer Institute of Linguistics is still carrying out the textbook preparation project, and the status as of 1974 is shown in Appendix 3.

Initially the textbooks for minority groups were prepared under the guidance of the Summer Institute of Linguistics under contracts with USAID and the Ministry of Education 1967-1971. Presently there is no contract with USAID, but SIL continues to prepare textbooks in co-operation with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry for the Development of Ethnic Minorities that has the responsibility for textbook preparation. The books include sets of primers, hand-tailored to each language, teachers' guides for those primers, and standardised textbooks and guides for the other subjects. The Culture-folklore readers for Grade 1 are unique for each language. The pupils' arithmetic books, the teachers' guide for oral Vietnamese, and the wall-charts for science-health-ethics in the Primer Grade contain only pictures and numbers in Vietnamese, and can be used by all languages, hence, they distributed through the Ministry of Education. All other books are language-specific, hence, are distributed through education offices in the areas where the languages are spoken.

The programme calls for a Primer Grade using and teaching the minority language and teaching spoken Vietnamese. The following grades are bilingual, shifting gradually into a full Vietnamese curriculum by the end of elementary school. The Primer ('headstart') Grade curriculum is detailed as follows:

- A. The minority language is the medium of instruction.
- B. Textbooks:
  - 1. To learn to read and write the minority language: language-specific primer, teachers' guide, wall-charts.
  - 2. Arithmetic: arithmetic book, teachers' guide.
  - 3. Science-ethics-health: 33 wall-charts, teachers' guide.
  - 4. Conversational Vietnamese: teachers' guide.

The reading and writing method, designed by Dr. Sarah Gudschinsky (Gudschinsky 1970), starts with monosyllabic words, breaking these down into letters and combining them into longer words and sentences. (This is in sharp contrast with the traditional method in the Vietnamese schools of starting with the alphabet, which was still the method used

in the series of Vietnamese elementary textbooks prepared by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with USAID in the late 1960s.)

1st and 2nd Grades go into a full Vietnamese content-oriented curriculum, but with one course in minority language and literature. The textbook for this course is a reader containing local legends, traditions, and customs. It is expected that 3rd, 4th, and 5th Grades will follow this same pattern, developing both reading and creative writing.

The 1st Grade curriculum is detailed as follows:

- A. Both the minority language and Vietnamese are taught and have the same number of contact hours weekly.
- B. Textbooks:
  - 1. Vietnamese reading and writing: Vietnamese is the language of instruction. Vietnamese textbook having parallel texts in the minority language.
  - 2. Arithmetic: the language of instruction is Vietnamese, but the minority language may be used for explanations.
  - 3. Science: the medium of instruction is the minority language. Bilingual textbook.
  - 4. Health: the medium of instruction is the minority language. Bilingual textbook.
  - 5. Ethics: the medium of instruction is the minority language. Bilingual textbook.
  - 6. Minority language: the language is used as medium of instruction. Bilingual textbook on culture and customs, and on vocabulary.
  - 7. Spoken Vietnamese: Vietnamese is the language of instruction. Teachers' guide (in Vietnamese).

The 2nd Grade curriculum is detailed as follows:

- A. The number of contact-hours per week for the minority language study is equal to one-third of the total number of contact hours.
- B. Textbooks:
  - 1. Vietnamese: Vietnamese is the medium of instruction. Textbook in Vietnamese with minority language translation at the back.
  - 2. Arithmetic: Vietnamese is the language of instruction. Vietnamese textbook.
  - 3. Science: 

Vietnamese is the medium of instruction.
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  - 4. Health: 

Textbook in Vietnamese with minority
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  - 5. Ethics: 

language translation at the back.
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  - 6. Geography: 

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  - 7. History: 

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8. Minority group culture: the minority language is the medium of instruction. Textbook on culture and customs written in the minority language with parallel texts in Vietnamese.

### 3.2. TEACHER TRAINING AND SUPERVISION

Teachers for the minority group programme are recruited where possible from the ranks of the regularly certified elementary teachers. These teachers attend short workshops where they are trained in the methods used in the programme and are then sent back to teach. Where such teachers are not available, especially in the smaller or less-educated language groups, people with obvious talent are picked out, given special help, and sent to the workshops. In some cases these special teachers have been given full teacher status by the Ministry of Education, but in some cases they remain on the Ethnic Minorities payroll.

These teachers of the minority languages are under the supervision of the provincial elementary school system, its principals and inspectors.

### 3.3. CURRENT STATUS

According to Thomas, the minority language teaching programme is not in full swing yet, but it has gotten started in many areas, and initial results look promising. It is perhaps strongest in the Rade, Bahnar, and Koro areas, but is developing in the Bru, Cham, Jorai, Chrau, and other areas. In some languages such as Cua, Jeh, Sedang, Rangao, Haroi, and Nung it is just getting started. Official and unofficial Vietnamese reactions to the programme are much more favourable now than they were when the project was started. In the INNOTECH Seminar on 'The Content of Primary Education' in Saigon in mid-October, 1974 which was geared into the present re-organisation of the curriculum for Vietnam, Dr. Nguyễn-Xuân-Thu, Director of the Directorate of Educational Research and Documentation, included in his paper the need for special treatment of regions like the highlands in Vietnam. It is the personal opinion of the author that the language policy of Singapore, which states that "Bilingualism is the corner-stone of the educational policy in Singapore", could very well be adapted to the Vietnamese minority situation. In Singapore, humanity-type courses are taught in the mother-tongue (Chinese, Malay, or Tamil) and language, mathematics, and science are taught in English all the way through elementary school. In Vietnam, in the highlands, that could be adapted to mother-tongue and Vietnamese.



The prospects for serious teaching of the minority languages in Vietnam as first languages appear to be increasingly bright. Almost all minority languages there have now been reduced to writing. The majority of these have at least some textbooks and are starting to be taught as first languages in school. According to Thomas, the six major minority languages, Bahnar, Jorai, Radê, Kôho, and Cham are increasingly gaining national attention and respected status, and it is hoped that these will some day start to be taught as second languages in the Vietnamese schools.

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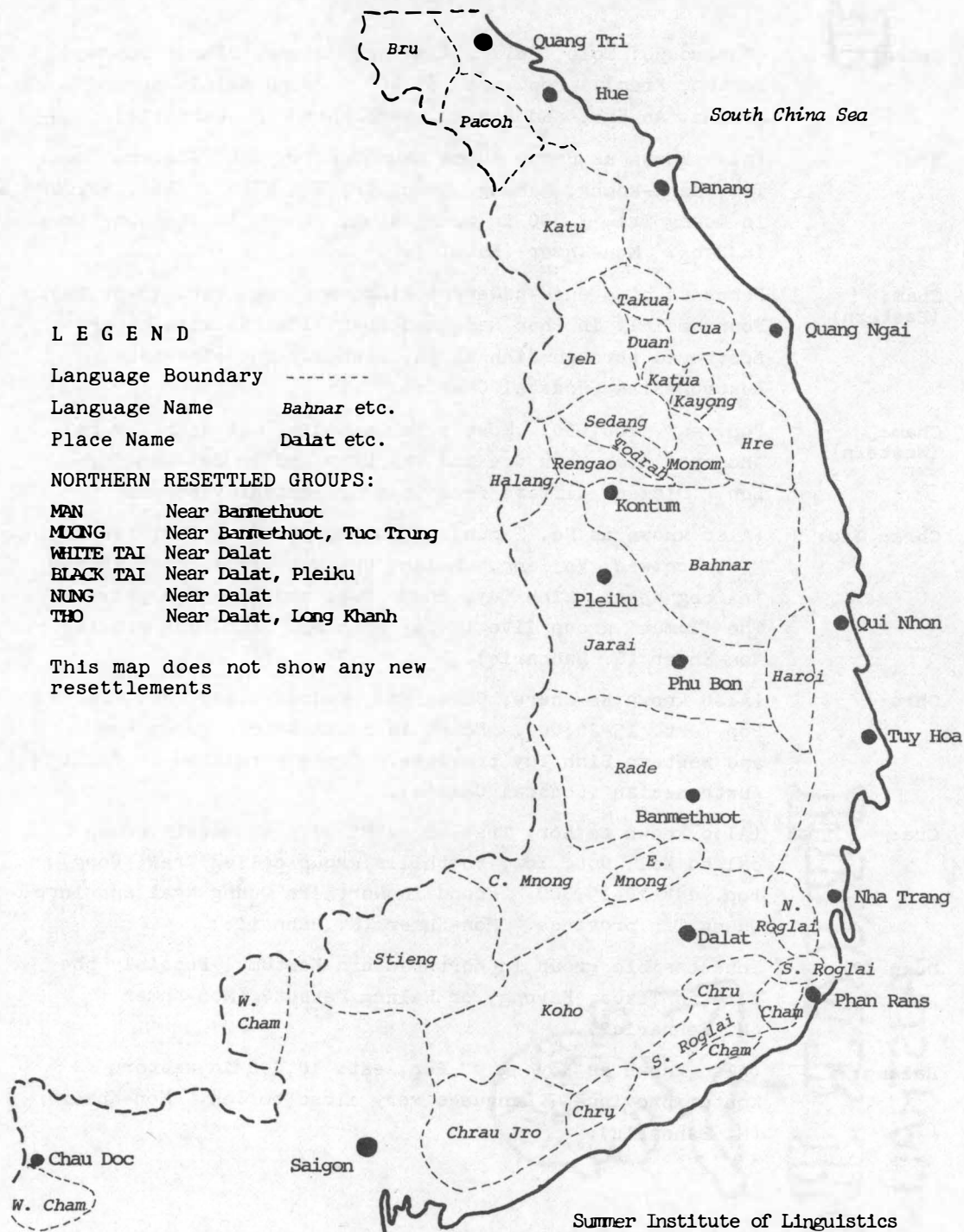
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NGUYEN DANG LIEM and David D. THOMAS

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APPENDIX 1  
ETHNIC MINORITIES OF SOUTH VIETNAM



APPENDIX 2  
VIETNAM MINORITY LANGUAGES  
(Revised November 1972)

- Bahnar:** (Subgroups: Tơlơ, Golar, Alakong, Jơlong, Bahnar Bơnơ, Kontum, Krem). Pop. est. 85,000. Found mainly around Kontum, An Khe, and Pleiku. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Brū:** (Also known as Brou, Muong Leung, Kalơ, Leu, Galler, Khua, Trĩ, Măng-koong, Makong, Quảng Trĩ Vân Kiều). Est. 40,000 in Quang Trĩ, 3,000 in Quảng Bình, others in Tchepone area in Laos. Mon-Khmer (Katuic).
- Cham:**  
(Eastern) Remnants of a once-powerful kingdom. Pop. est. 40-50,000. Found mainly in Phan Rang and Phan Ri areas with others scattered through Bình Thuận, Bình Tuy and elsewhere. Austronesian (Coastal Chamic).
- Cham:**  
(Western) Pop. est. 100,000. Mostly in Cambodia, but with several thousand near Châu Đốc and Tây Ninh and in Sài-Gòn-Chợ-Lớn. Dialect differs from Cham of central Vietnam.
- Chrau Jro:** (Also known as Ro, Tamun). (Subgroups: Jro, Dơ, Prang, Mơ, Vơtwaq, Vajiêng, Chalah, Chalun, etc.) Est. 15,000 in Long Khánh, Bình Tuy, Phước Tuy, and Biên Hòa provinces. The 'Tamun' group live in Tây Ninh and Bình Long provinces. Mon-Khmer (S. Bahnaric).
- Chru:** (Also known as Churu, Chrau Hma, Cadoe, Loang, Rai, Seyu). Pop. est. 15-20,000. Found in southeastern Tuyên Đức and western Bình Tuy province. Closely related to Cham. Austronesian (Coastal Chamic).
- Cua:** (Also known as Kor, Traw, Bong Miêu). (Mountain group called Kol, Dot, Yot; foothills group called Traw, Dong). Pop. est 10-15,000. Found in Northern Quảng Ngãi and into Quảng Tín province. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Duan (?):** Inaccessible group in northeastern Kontum. Possibly the same as Takua, Kayong, or Halăng Daksut? Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric?).
- Halang:** (Also known as Kơyong). Pop. est. 10,000 in western Kontum province. Language very close to Jeh. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).

- Haroi:** (Also known as Hrway, Hroi, Bahnar Cham). Est. 10-20,000 in Phú Yên, Bình Định and Phú Bôn provinces. Austro-nesian (Chamic).
- Hrê:** (Also known as Davak, Davach). (Subgroups: Rabah (Tava), Crêq (Kare), Hrê, Taliang). Pop. est. 80,000. SW Quảng Ngãi, Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Jarai:** (Also known as Djarai). (Subgroups: Puan, Hơdrung, Hrue, Arap). Pop. est. 150,000. Found mainly in Pleiku and Phú Bôn provinces, and some in Kontum. Austronesian (Plateau Chamic).
- Jeh:** (Also known as Dié, Yeh). (Subgroups: Jeh Bri La, Jeh Măng Ram). Pop. est. 10,000 in northwestern Kontum, southwestern Quảng Tín, and Laos. Language closely related to Halăng. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Katu:** (Also known as Teu, Attouat, Khat, Tá River Vân Kiều). (Subgroups: High, Low Phương). Pop. est. 20-30,000 in Quang Nam and Thừa Thiên provinces and in Laos. Mon-Khmer (Katuic).
- Kayong:** (Also known as Kagiwong, Cà Giòng, Katang). A group in the remote mountains of northwestern Quảng Ngãi and northeastern Kontum province. Language reportedly related to Cua. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Kelao:** (Also known as I-lao, Khi). Est. 25-30,000; mostly in China (Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, Hunan, with a few in N. Vietnam). No known refugees in the South. Kadai.
- Khang:** (Also known as Xá, Xá Cầu, Tênh, Putênh, Tayhay). (Subgroups: Khang clâu Khang ai (Xá Khao). Pop. est. 22,000 scattered through the northwestern Tai provinces and in western Nghệ An province of North Vietnam. Mon-Khmer (Khmuic).
- Koho:** (Subgroups: Chil, Lat, Tring, Sre, Maa (Chau-Ma), Kalơp, Sop, Laya, Rjón, Nop, Tala). Pop. est. 100,000 in Tuyên Đức, Lâm Đồng, Long Khánh, Quảng Đức, and Bình Tuy provinces. The Maa, especially, are spread over a wide area. Mon-Khmer (S. Bahnaric).
- Laqua:** (Also known as Ka Beo) Est. 200 on the Vietnam-Yunnan-Kwangsi border. No known refugees in the South. Kadai.

- Lati:** (Also known as Akhu, P'u La). Est. 450 in North Vietnam, with more in Yunnan. No known refugees in the South. Kadal.
- Lolo:** (Also known as Ho, Ủn, Ouni, Hânhi). Pop. est. 20,000 in Lai Châu Lao Kay, and Yen Bay in North Vietnam. No known refugees in the South. Tibeto-Burman (Loloish).
- Mán:** (Also known as Yao). (Subgroups: Mán Đỏ, Đeo Tiên, Chảm, Quần Chẹt, Quần Trắng). 2-4 million found in North Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, and China. Several hundred came south, especially near Banmethuot. Many speak Chinese. Miao-Yao.
- Mán Cao-lan:** A small group in Moncay province on the Vietnam-Kwangtung border. Daic (E. Tai).
- Mang:** (Also known as Mang Ủ, Xá Măng). Pop. est. 700 in Lai Châu province, North Vietnam. Mon-Khmer (Palaungic?).
- Mèo:** (Also known as Miao). A very large group: 3-5 million in southwest China, North Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. 84,000 in North Vietnam. Only a few in South Vietnam. Miao-Yao.
- Mnong: (Central)** (Also known as Pnong, Bu Nong). (Subgroups: Preh, Bu Nâr. Bu Rûng, Dîh Bri, Bu Dâng, Biăt). Pop. est. 23,000 (including the Biăt in Cambodia). Southwest of the Radê, mainly in Quảng Đức and western Darlac provinces and into Cambodia. Mon-Khmer (S. Bahnaric).
- Mnong: (Eastern)** (Subgroups: Rlăm (Rôlôm), Gar, Chil, Kuanh). Pop. est. 12,000. Southeast of the Radê in Darlac and into Tuyên Đức province. Mon-Khmer (s. Bahnaric).
- Mnong: (Southern)** (Subgroups: Nong, Prâng, and possibly Ra-ong, Bu Sre, Bu Dip). Pop. est. 12,000. Mostly in Quảng Đức province south of the central Mnong and north of the Stieng. More like Central than Eastern Mnong. Mon-Khmer (S. Bahnaric).
- Mơnam:** (Also known as Bơnôm, Menam). Pop. est. 5,000. Found in eastern Kontum province. Closely related to Todrah. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Mường:** (Subgroups: Pí, Thàng, Tộng, Wang). (Also related and possibly subgroups: Sách, May, Ruc, Arem, Tay Pong). Pop. est. 370,000. Mostly in mountains of northern central Vietnam. A few thousand came south and settled at Hào Bình near Banmethuot, and at Túc Trưng, Long Khánh. Mon-Khmer (Viet-Mường).

- Nùng:**  
(Nông) A large group (100,000?) on the China border (Lạng Sơn and Bắc Giang area). They have mixed with the Chinese Nung. Several thousand came south, settled in Nam Sơn (Tuyên Đức), Ngô Quyền, (Long Khánh), and elsewhere. Language closely related to Thổ. Daic (SE Tai).
- Nùng:** A large group (100,000?) of Chinese settlers in the Nung territory of North Vietnam. About 50,000 came south. They are renowned as fighters and speak a dialect of Chinese. Refugees settled largely in Bình Thuận, Long Khánh, Chợ Lớn, and Phú Quốc. Sino-Tibetan (Chinese).
- Nhãng:** (Also known as Yay, Giai, Nyang, Giang). Est. pop. 20-50,000. Found in northwestern Vietnam and southern Yunnan. A few individuals came south. Daic (W. Tai).
- Pacõh:** (Also known as Bô, River Vân Kiều). (Subgroup: Pahi). Pop. est. 15,000 in Thừa Thiên and Quang Trị provinces and in Laos. Related to Ta-ôih in Laos. Mon-Khmer (Katuic).
- Puộc:** (Also known as Kha Puhoc). Pop. est. 5,000. In Lai Châu, Mộc Châu, Phú Yên, Yên Châu, in North Vietnam. Mon-Khmer (Khmuic).
- Radé:** (Also known as Raday, Rdé, Edé, Rhadé). (Subgroups: Mdhur, Adham, Blo, Kodrao, Bih, Krung, Rdé Kpă). Pop. est. 80-100,000. Found throughout Darlac and part of Khánh Hòa provinces, centered around Banmethuot. Austronesian (Plateau Chamic).
- Rengao:** (Subgroups: Western Rengao, Sedang-Rengao, Bahnar-Rengao). Pop. est. 10-15,000 in Kontum province, from northwest of Dak Tô to southeast of Kontum city, between Sedang and Bahnar. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Rơglai:**  
(Northern) (Also known as Radlai, Aadlai). Pop. est. 20-25,000. In mountains west and south of Nhatrang, and some refugees near Dalat. Austronesian (Coastal Chamic).
- Rơglai:**  
(Southern) Pop. est. 15-20,000. Very closely related to Chru and Northern Rơglai. Mostly in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces, with a few in Tuyên Đức. Austronesian (Coastal Chamic).
- Rơglai:**  
(Cac Gia) Pop. est. 2,000. A small group northeast of Phan Rang. Dialect considerably different from other Rơglai dialects. Austronesian (Coastal Chamic).

- Sedang:** (Also known as Rôteáng, Hadang, Hôteáng, Rôteă, Hôteă). (Subgroups: i.e. dialect areas: Central Sedang, Greater Sedang, Dak Sut Sedang, Kôtua Sedang, Kon Hring Sedang). Pop. est. 40,000. Found in northern half of Kontum province. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Stiêng:** (Subgroups: Bu Lơ, Bu Deh). Pop. est. 48,000 in Phước Long and Bình Long provinces; also in Cambodia. Mon-Khmer (S. Bahnaric).
- Takua:** (Also known as Kôtua (?), Duan, (?), Quảng Tín Katu, Langya). A small group in the Trà My area of Quảng Tín province and into Kontum and Quảng Ngãi. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Tai:** (Also known as Tai Noir, Thái Đen). Pop. est. 200-250,000 (?). In North Vietnam along the Red and Black Rivers and in Laos. Some came south and are settled in Tùng Nghĩa (Tuyên Đức), Thọ Thành (Darlac), Pleiku, and elsewhere. Daic (SW Tai).
- Tai: (White)** (Also known as Tai Blanc, Thái Trắng). Pop. est. 100,000 (?). In North Vietnam along the Red and Black Rivers and in Laos. Some came south and are settled mainly in Tùng Nghĩa (Tuyên Đức). Daic (SW Tai).
- Tai: (Red)** (Also known as Tai Rouge, Thái Deng). Pop. est. 50,000 (?). In North Vietnam and Laos in the area of Thanh Hoa province. Very few came south. Daic (SW Tai).
- Tai: (Others)** Hàng Tổng, Man Thanh, Tày Mười, Tày Khắng, Tay Jo). Small groups in various parts of North Vietnam. Some of them may possibly belong to one of the above three languages. Daic.
- Tày Hát:** Pop. est. 2,000. In western Nghệ An province, North Vietnam. Mon-Khmer (Khmuic).
- Thổ:** A large tribe (150,000) found mostly in northern Vietnam and southern China. Closely related to Nùng (Nông). Some came south and settled in the Tùng Nghĩa and Sông Mao areas. Daic (SE Tai).
- Tơdrăh:** (Also known as Didrah, Didrá, Mōdra, Kōdra, Tōdră, Pōdră, Sedang Tơdra). Pop. est. 5,000. In area northeast of Kontum from Kon Hring to Kon Braih. Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).

- Triêng:** (Also known as Strieng). A small, little-studied group northwest of Dak Rơtah in western Quảng Tín province and in Laos. Possibly a dialect of Jeh or of Taliang (in Laos). Mon-Khmer (N. Bahnaric).
- Ts'un-lao:** In Monday province in North Vietnam. Daic (E Tai).

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Compiled by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.  
Saigon, Viet Nam.  
Information culled from various  
published and personal sources.  
Revised annually



# APPENDIX 3

## LEGEND:

I - In preparation  
M - Manuscript completed  
C - Camera-ready for printing  
67 - Printing date  
R - Revised and/or reprinted

## BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROJECT Report on Educational Materials

Summer Institute  
of Linguistics  
January 1975

### PRIMER GRADE

Primer Series (1-5 volumes)

Primer Wallcharts (20)

Teacher's Guide for Primers

Arithmetic Series

Teacher's Guide for Arithmetic

Science-Hygiene-Ethics Wallcharts

Teacher's Guide for S-H-E Charts

Oral Vietnamese (Teacher's Text)

### GRADE 1

Science

Hygiene

Ethics

Reading

Arithmetic

Culture-Folklore

Oral Vietnamese

### GRADE 2

Science

Hygiene

Ethics

Culture-Folklore

VOCABULARY/Dictionary

LANGUAGE LESSONS

TEACHER TRAINING WORKSHOPS - First

Bahnar	Jorai	Koho	Rade	Bru	Cham-Phan Rang	Ive	Muong-Bunor	Chrau	Chru	Jeh	Roglai-Bac	Sedang	Cham-Chau Doc	Cua	Halang	Haroi	Katu			Moong Ralam	Muong	Nung	Paoon	Rengao	Stieng-Phuoc Long	Tai-Black	Tai-White	Vietnamese
R71	R71	67	67	69	71	71	71	69	72	72	72	72	74	73	M	C	67				72	66	M	R73	I	62		I
R71	R71	R71	R71	71	71	71	71		72	73	72	72	74	M	M	M	M				72		M	73	M			I
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Liags, A.O. and Nguyen B.L. editors, *Papers from the Conference on the Standardisation of Asian Languages*, Manila, Philippines, December 16-21, 1974.

Asealang.net/CRCL initiative.



# DIGLOT TEXTBOOKS AND DICTIONARIES AS A MEANS TO THE ASSIMILATION OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF VIET NAM

Ernest W. Lee

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Thanks to the acceptance of an orthography designed by Alexandre de Rhodes some four centuries ago, the Vietnamese people have a unified, standardised writing system which is used throughout Viet Nam regardless of political persuasion, religion, or dialect spoken. Although there are three commonly recognised distinct dialects, Northern, Central, and Southern, all dialects are, with a little accomodation, mutually intelligible. Furthermore, the Vietnamese language, commonly known as the Quốc Ngữ (National Language), is the mother tongue of the majority of the people. In the Republic of Viet Nam, more than three-fourths of the population speak the National Language as their first language. Of the portion whose first language is other than the National Language, two-thirds are of Chinese origin. Most of these live in Chợ Lớn (a part of greater Saigon) or in other urban areas and because of their contact with the ethnic Vietnamese, most of them have a working knowledge of the National Language.

Standardisation of the National Language is not a serious problem in Viet Nam. The major problems are 1) reaching 100 percent literacy in the National Language for those who already speak it and 2) developing oral competence and literacy skills in the national language for those ethnic minorities who have either no knowledge or only a very limited knowledge of the National Language.

Reports on the progress in literacy in the National Language for those who already know the language is available from other sources and is outside the scope of this paper. The purpose here is to describe

the effort that is being made through the use of diglot materials<sup>1</sup> to develop both oral competence and literacy in the National Language for the ethnic minorities. Primarily these ethnic minorities are the people who inhabit the highlands and although they represent only a minor portion of the population, they inhabit a large portion of the country geographically. With the exception of the coastal plains, they represent the majority population in most of the area north of Saigon.

## 2. BASIC APPROACHES FOR ASSIMILATING THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

A basic principle of education is that people learn faster and better when they can begin with a known and use that knowledge to learn an unknown. What is the implication of this principle if applied to the people of ethnic minorities learning the national language? If we place the mother tongue and the national language on a chart as parameters on one axis and oral competence vs. literacy skills as parameters on an intersecting axis as in Chart 1, we can illustrate the implication.

CHART 1  
Stages of Language Skills

	Mother tongue	National language
Oral competence	1	3
Literacy skills	2	4

The people of the ethnic minorities, by the time they are of school age, have already attained stage 1, that is, oral competence in their mother tongue. But the goal of the nation is that they should also reach stages 3 and 4. The two basic approaches for reaching stages 3 and 4 are: 1) Monolingual approach: ignore the person's competence in the mother tongue (stage 1) and teach stages 3 and 4 directly or 2) Bilingual approach: utilise the person's competence in the mother tongue in order to arrive at stages 3 and 4.

1) Monolingual approach. If the mother tongue is ignored in teaching literacy skills and oral competence in the national language, the principle of using the known to get to the unknown is violated. Rather two unknowns have to be learned directly: a new language and the skills of reading and writing. This approach is schematised in Chart 2.

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<sup>1</sup>The programme described here was developed as a joint effort of the Viet Nam Department of Education, the Viet Nam Department for the Development of the Ethnic Minorities, USAID, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

CHART 2  
Monolingual Approach

	Mother tongue	National language
Oral competence	1	3 +
Literacy skills	2	(+4+) +

Note that the arrows come into the chart from the outside indicating that there is no movement from one of the knowns to the unknown. Variations of this basic approach include teaching oral skills first, teaching literacy first, and simultaneous teaching of both. Once the initial skills are developed in one or both, there is some movement from the known to the unknown as indicated by the arrows in parentheses.

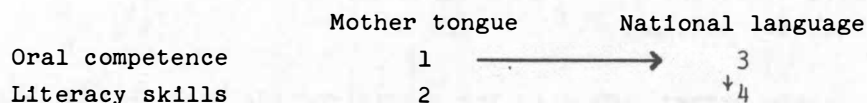
2) Bilingual approach. If the mother tongue is used in teaching the national language, the principle of going from the known to learn the unknown is used. A completely bilingual programme will include both the use of oral competence in the mother tongue as the known for acquiring oral competence in the national language and the use of oral competence in the mother tongue for acquiring basic literacy skills in the mother tongue. Both of these newly acquired skills are then used as knowns for acquiring literacy skills in the national language.

A common temptation, however, is to use a partially bilingual programme in which oral competence in the mother tongue is used as the known for teaching the national language orally, but bypassing literacy skills in the mother tongue. This avoids the time consuming and often expensive production of written materials in the minor languages, but fails to take into account another basic principle - a psychological principle.

Why do we have national languages anyway? Many of the national languages for which we seek standardisation are themselves small languages when compared with some of the world's larger language. But these national languages need some sort of unification in order to help develop national unity to help give the nation a feeling that it belongs as a part of the world. Any nation, no matter how small, is an important and integral part of the world system; and language is an important and integral part of that nation's make-up and of its self-identification. But what is true of a nation is also true of an individual; one's mother tongue is an important and integral part of him. To ignore literacy skills in his language in giving him literacy skills in the national language is to fail to provide for his self-identification just as it will fail to provide the self-identification of a nation to insist that it adopt some larger world language.

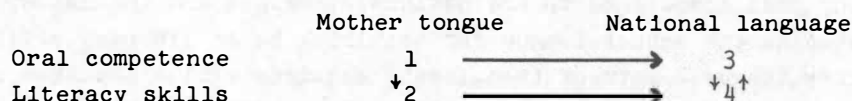
The partially bilingual approach is schematised in Chart 3.

**CHART 3**  
**Partially Bilingual Approach**



In addition to utilising both the educational and psychological principles mentioned above, the fully bilingual programme has a further advantage of being able to utilise the skills of literacy in the national language for further reinforcement of learning to speak it; this is indicated by the arrow going from stage 4 to stage 3 in Chart 4.

**CHART 4**  
**Completely Bilingual Approach**



Up to this point, the discussion has been theoretical, focusing on the basic approaches which can be used in developing skills in the national language. Now we shall look specifically the monolingual and bilingual approaches as they have been used for the ethnic minorities in Viet Nam.

### 3. THE MONOLINGUAL APPROACH FOR VIET NAM'S ETHNIC MINORITIES

For many years the monolingual approach was used for introducing Viet Nam's National Language to the ethnic minorities. It was felt that the best way to promote the National Language was to have the pupils study only the National Language. Hence the medium of instruction and all content of courses was entirely in the National Language. To ensure that only the National Language was used, teachers who themselves were from one of the ethnic minorities were sent to an area where a different language was spoken.

The result of this approach was that most children who did start school dropped out in a very short period of time; teachers often commented that they were not bright enough to learn. Some continued, but many of them took several years to finish the first grade and only a few went on beyond the first grade. Those who were able to make it

became the elite of the group, but as late as the early 1960s some language groups had no elite - none had made the grade. Beyond the Cham, Rade, Koho, Bahnar, Jorai, and Chru very few of the remaining languages had any who were literate at all.

#### 4. THE BILINGUAL APPROACH FOR VIET NAM'S ETHNIC MINORITIES

During the early 1960s, the need for a bilingual approach for the ethnic minorities was recognised by the government of the Republic of Viet Nam and so in 1966 definite steps were taken to begin such a programme. This included the use of the mother tongue for learning oral Vietnamese, for basic literacy skills, and along with the National Language for the basic primary curriculum.

Having decided upon a bilingual approach, could it then be assumed that in a given period of time, say three to five years, the individual from among the ethnic minorities could attain the same oral proficiency and level of literacy in the National Language as the native speaker of the National Language? Probably not; rather it would vary considerably with the individual's contact with the National Language in his everyday experiences. On the other hand, he should in that amount of time be able to develop enough proficiency to be able to continue in the National Language without support from his mother tongue. In Viet Nam it was decided that the ethnic minorities would be given one extra year in the elementary schools. This year of school precedes the normal first grade and the primary purpose of this grade is to develop literacy skills in the mother tongue and begin the development of oral skills in the National Language. This special year of school is called the primer grade.

To accomplish these purposes the curriculum includes a series of graded primers (normally diglotted), wallcharts, and a teacher's manual for the teaching of reading and writing in the mother tongue and a teacher's manual with drills and dialogues for the introduction of oral Vietnamese. It is assumed that the teacher using these materials will himself be a speaker of the language of the children; this is necessary for the teacher to be able to relate the National Language to the minority language, and to be able to help the pupil relate the spoken language to written language (both in the identification of sound-symbol correspondence and of meaning).

In addition to these materials, there is also an Arithmetic book without words, and wallcharts without words introducing some of the basic concepts of science, health, and ethics so that the children will be able to get a head start in these subjects before beginning the

regular first grade. These wordless materials can be used for any ethnic minority group.

During the following three years of school, the child is expected to make a gradual transition from his mother tongue into the National Language so that by the end of four years he is ready to enter the regular fourth grade without the necessity for relying on the mother tongue.

To carry out the transition from literacy in the mother tongue to oral competence and literacy in the National Language, diglot textbooks and dictionaries were developed for the three years following the primer grade. Specifically, for the regular first grade the following materials were provided:

1. The National Language textbooks in science, health, and ethics were examined carefully and revised enough to bring them into conformity with the culture of the ethnic minorities. The teaching point of each lesson was maintained, but specific details and pictures were changed so that the people of the ethnic minorities could identify with them. Then the content of each lesson was given in the minority language in dark print with the translation in the National Language given below it in lighter print. At the beginning of the year, the pupil could not be expected to read the translation because his oral competence had not yet reached that level. But the teacher could read it to him so that he could hear the National Language equivalence and begin to learn it.

2. For the learning of reading the National Language, no special book was prepared, but translations of passages which were not syllable drills were inserted into the regular National Language readers. These have not been very satisfactory and plans for the future include the preparation of a special reader for the ethnic minorities so that their initial reading in the National Language will be more closely tied to the oral instruction which they learn in the primer grade. Provision is also made for the continued development in oral control of the National Language through regular instruction in the first grade.

For the regular second and third grades, the textbooks were not modified, but were only diglotted. The format in this case was to leave the lessons as they were, but with the provision of a translation into the minority language for the pupil. In the second grade, the pupil is expected to make extensive use of the translation as he is learning more of the National Language, but by the third grade, he is expected to make considerably less use of it.

In addition to the diglotted textbooks for grades one through three, there are also 1) a diglot or triglot (including English) dictionary provided so that the pupil can use this to either find out the equival-



ent in the National Language for a word in his language, or to find out what a new word in the National Language means, and 1) a series of culture-folklore books. The latter may continue up through grade five and serves a three-fold purpose: 1) Material is provided for the pupil to develop fluency in his mother tongue which in turn improves his ability to develop fluency in the reading of the National Language. 2) A translation or summary is given in the National Language which provides an opportunity to help the pupil learn the National Language equivalences of those things which are important to him. 3) Identification with his own sub-culture through these materials enables the pupil to better understand and relate to the difference of the national culture which he finds in the other textbooks.

#### 5. IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION OF THE BILINGUAL APPROACH IN VIET NAM

Diglot materials have been produced in 22 of the minority languages of Viet Nam although a number of these do not include materials beyond the first grade. Because of the war and other factors, these materials have only been put to use in about half of these languages. In addition to their use in elementary schools since 1967, they have been used in night classes for adults since 1972.

Results where the materials have or are being used are very encouraging. Unfortunately, again because of the war, we have not been able to do any rigorous evaluation to determine how much progress has been made either in literacy in the vernacular languages or in assimilation of the National Language, but informal observation clearly shows that there has been much better progress in the National Language than previously under the direct system of attempting to teach the National Language without using literacy in the mother tongue as a bridge into the National Language. In the elementary school, the sharp decrease in the drop-out rate and more normal progression through school has improved the extent of assimilation of the National Language. Minority groups who before had few or no children who went beyond the first grade now have many more who are reaching higher levels where they can and do use the National Language effectively. And many adults are for the first time beginning to get an eye on the world through learning literacy in their mother tongue and then going on into the National Language.

Excitement for learning has increased many times over. In the city of Kontum, after all but one of the Bahnar primers in the area had been destroyed, the desire to learn to read and write and the desire of the teachers was so great that the single books was passed around from teacher to teacher in order to copy the lessons.

Another factor which should be taken into account is that even for the pupil who does not go on in school, but who only finishes the primer grade, the chances of his advancing in the National Language are considerably improved. This is because many of the people will develop some oral competence in the National Language as they mature, and if they already have a basic concept of what reading is all about and can read their own language, they can readily learn to read the National Language as well. Or it is possible for even less exposure than the primer grade to result in a transition into the national language. Dr. Sarah C. Gudschinsky has personally told me about the Mazatec Indian of Mexico who was learning to read with a diglot primer. When he would tire of reading the Mazatec, she would have him work on the Spanish for a while. By doing this he picked up a little Spanish as he was learning to read Mazatec. Then when a Mexican road building team arrived and needed someone who knew Spanish to be an interpreter for the road team and Mazatec laborers, this man was hired. His base in Spanish was very limited, but it was enough to get him the job and enough for him to build on as he worked with the team. None of this would have been possible had he not learned the Spanish that was equivalent to what he could already read in Mazatec in his diglot primer.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The progress that the ethnic minorities are making in assimilating the National Language of Viet Nam through bilingual education supports a growing body of data which confirms the theory that the use of the mother tongue, both orally and in literacy, provides a faster route to the national language than using a monolingual approach. For example, Modiano (1973), after rigorous testing of Indian children in Mexico wrote:

More importantly, both measures showed the bilingual approach to be significantly more effective in teaching reading comprehension in Spanish.

Why is it that bilingual INI [National Indian Institute] schools were more successful in teaching reading comprehension in Spanish? (129)

She goes on to explain that it is because: "(1) They learned to decode on potentially meaningful material, and (2) they received some aid in learning Spanish. By the time they began to read Spanish they already knew how to decode and they had some knowledge of that language." (132)

The Iloilo experiment (Orata 1953) is another example. It gives statistical evidence that progress in English was better when initial reading instruction was done in the mother tongue.



So, the progress that the ethnic minorities of Viet Nam are making in learning the National Language through systematic use of their own mother tongues, adds one more piece of evidence that the best route to helping the ethnic minorities attain proficiency in the national language of a country is through bilingual education where diglot materials are used.

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## REMARKS

Alfonso O. Santiago

The Second Conference on Asian Languages participated in by delegates coming from the rank and file of the teaching profession in the Philippines and by invited speakers who represent the different countries in the Asian region is about to be concluded.

I know I have to make my remarks very briefly because most of you are probably in a hurry to leave so you could still do some shopping downtown for 'aguinaldos' and 'pasalubong' before you go home to your beloved ones in celebrating Christmas.

May I make just two general observations:

1. **First Observation.** This conference is a manifestation that the Asian has now found himself. He is no longer a lost soul as he used to be in this part of the earth. In the field of language, his obsession now is not only to have an indigenous national language but to have its functions elaborated, standardised, and modernised.

2. **Second Observation.** The Asian, as a consequence of fate, embarks on a path leading towards bilingualism. In other words, he keeps the Language of Wider Communication which is English or Mandarin or Dutch or French as the case may be, and at the same time nurture his indigenous national language - develop and standardise it to keep it at par if at all possible with the languages of his former colonial masters. How to implement bilingualism and at the same time standardise his national language is a problem that still overwhelms him. But he is trying his best because he knows that to be truly independent in thoughts, in words, and in deeds, he must develop and standardise a national language of his own.

Allow me now to shift into other matters.

We should confess that we admire the ability of some of the delegates in adjusting themselves to the situation. We are sure many of you are of a speaker's caliber, judging from the data and all the nice things we have heard and read about you. If we have reduced you to either a chairman or a rapporteur of plenary sessions, if not to a mere consumer of ideas, it is because this conference has its limits.

Some of you have asked us how we can hold conferences of this kind, obviously marvelling at the courage and determination of whoever is the person or persons behind all these. Questions like "Where did you get the funds?" are common. Really, knowledgeable people will tell you that holding an international conference such as this entails so many problems; all of them, however, boil down to only one factor - funds.

Well, actually, if there is anybody at all who should receive the plaudits, it should be none other than one person who is a thinker and a doer in the real sense of these words - and he is no other than Dr. Alejandrino Q. Perez, the President of two associations: the Pambansang Samahan sa Linggwistikang Pilipino, Ink. (PSLP) and the Asian Association on National Languages (ASANAL). (May I invite you all to give this leader a big round of applause?) To Dr. Perez should go all the commendations, the praise, or any compliment that should accrue in the holding of this conference.

Of course there are other equally important people without whose support this conference could not have been possible. And with your permission, may I mention the names of the following who composed the planning and advisory committee:

1. Atty. Ponciano B.P. Pineda, Director of the Institute of National Language, and co-sponsor of this 2nd Conference on Asian Languages, who is always behind the activities of the PSLP - either as Board Member, as an adviser, as legal counsel (he being a lawyer - all rolled into one).

2. Dr. Ernesto Constantino (the proponent of UP Pil), Professor of Linguistics at the University of the Philippines, one of the few linguists in the Philippines, a human dynamo of ideas in planning conferences of this kind.

We should also like to mention the names of other people who have so kindly given us the moral support that we needed very much:

1. Mrs. Fermina G. Gatal, retired Chief of the Pilipino Division, Bureau of Public Schools, the charming 'Mommy' of the PSLP who radiates sunshine in all her ways.

2. Dr. Bonifacio P. Sibayan, President of the Philippine Normal College, who goes out of his way if only to help other people, the 'Godfather' of sociolinguists in the Philippines, the man whom Dr. Perez

runs to when he needed some pieces of advice in running conferences of this kind.

3. Dr. Cecilio Lopez, the Dean of Philippine Linguistics, who also have given us the pieces of advice that could come only from a mature thinker like him.

4. Dr. Gregorio C. Borlaza, who inspite of the fact that he has already retired from the government service, has not retired yet in being of service to Pilipino. We occasionally come to him for advice.

From here I will stop mentioning names of the other equally important people who have given their share in contributing to the success of this conference, as I might be robbing Dr. Perez the honour of thanking them. I am referring to the invited speakers and guests who were able to find time to come here in spite of their hectic schedules; the chairmen and the rapporteurs who have done their jobs so well; the members of the different committees who are actually the 'unsung heroes' of this conference as they have been working without the floodlights of the cameras, working backstage on the props, so to speak, while others are performing the lead roles on stage; and lastly, the delegates who come from the different parts of the Philippines, from the farthest school division up north to the farthest school down south who, we hope, have enjoyed participating in this conference.

The PSLP, if I might mention in passing, is comparatively a young organisation. It was organised by Dr. Perez and a dozen others barely four years, seven months and twelve days ago. It started modestly by holding seminars in Manila and suburbs for teachers in Pilipino. Then, from this quiet beginning, it started holding seminars in the different parts of the country. Then, after two years of actively holding seminars on topics which were aimed to help the teachers in the field, it embarked on a bigger and more ambitious activity - the holding of the First Conference on Asian Languages on December 18-22, 1972. During that conference another association was born - the Asian Association on National Languages (ASANAL) - wherein Dr. Perez again emerged as President.

The First Conference on Asian Languages has been followed by another one, two years after. And I am referring to this 2nd Conference. But this is not yet the end of the story. This morning, I was told that last Thursday, December 19th, to be exact, Dr. Perez chaired a meeting of the ASANAL attended by the speakers to this conference to explore the possibility of holding the 3rd Conference on Asian Languages in any country in Asia other than the Philippines. And if plans do not miscarry, the Third Conference on Asian Languages will be held at Jakarta in 1975 through the proposal of our friend Dr. Amran Halim.

Well, so far this is the story of the PSLP. It is an organisation which is self-propelling, receiving no aid whatsoever from Foundations or other moneyed groups.

This is all, my friends. Before I leave the stage, may I wish all the guests and speakers, most especially the delegates who have sacrificed so many things just to be able to attend this conference, a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

## CLOSING ADDRESS: A FRUITFUL GATHERING

Al Q. Perez

Distinguished speakers and delegates to this language forum, friends, ladies and gentlemen:

Before we declare this conference closed, we would like to take the privilege as President of the PAMBANSANO SAMAHAN SA LINGGWISTIKANG PILIPINO, INK. and ASIAN ASSOCIATION ON NATIONAL LANGUAGES (ASANAL) to say a few words. In the brief period of six days of plenary sessions, we have covered a great variety of areas related to the language standardisation and national languages of Asian countries which are relevant to educational development, especially to our quest for language universals in this hemisphere. We have learned much from the scholarly papers presented and discussed by eminent speakers, ranging from concepts and philosophy underlying the policies and discipline on the language standardisation of participating nations, to basic solutions to problems on the development of those languages.

We have attempted to examine or re-examine as thoroughly as has been feasible in the short time available, some of the exciting developments in Asia in the field of language standardisation. We have tried to make realistic appraisal and assessment of the status and progress of language standardisation and national languages of our Asian neighbours. We have tried to look at the situation of the Asian languages particularly on language standardisation in an effort to identify problems and to search for possible solutions. This conference has served as a forum in the meeting of minds among scholars of language and of education in Asia. The information and exchange of academic ideas have resulted in an immense value accruing to both speakers and delegates, and they promise hope for more effective steps toward the standardisation of Asian languages. The discussion have been lively, very lively indeed,

and have produced some interesting and fruitful results. The effective manner in which the chairmen and the rapporteurs of the various sessions are no less responsible for the interesting, lively and challenging discussions.

As a whole, I would like to think that we are moving in the proper direction - finding our Asian identity thru our respective languages.

In December 1972, during the closing address of the First Conference on Asian Languages, I said the following: "We look forward to having the pleasure of welcoming you to the Second Asian Conference on the National Languages in 1974". It is needless to say that that statement of mine has been fulfilled and has become a reality.

At this juncture, I am happy to inform this august body that the THIRD CONFERENCE ON ASIAN LANGUAGES would be held in the first week of December 1975, in Jakarta, Indonesia, with the leadership of Dr. Amran Halim as a continuation of the two language forums held in the Philippines. The theme of the forthcoming conference will be: LANGUAGE AND NATION BUILDING.

The December 1975 conference in Jakarta is a reaction to the observation that two years is quite long for an interval of the conference. The language of Asian countries should be formally discussed in forums like this at least annually. Hence the third conference in Jakarta with Dr. Halim as Conference Director.

In closing, I would like to say once again that it has been the honour of the PSLP, SWP and the ASANAL to have had your participation. Your contributions toward the success of the conference have been substantial and have convinced us that in this hemisphere we do have so many problems on language standardisation but we realise that most of them are common to us as brother Asians.

On behalf of the PSLP, SWP and the ASANAL, I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to all our distinguished friends and colleagues for having accepted our invitation to participate in this conference. The planning and other committees join me in hoping that all of you who have done us the honour of coming from afar to attend this conference have found the week spent with us profitable and pleasant.

Again, allow me to express to one and all my profound appreciation. Thank you very much for your cordial co-operation.



## APPENDIX

### CONFERENCE PROGRAMME



## OPENING CEREMONY

## MONDAY DECEMBER 16, 1974 - NSBD CONFERENCE HALL

## Morning

8:00 - 12:00 - *Registration*

## Afternoon

2:00 - 4:30 - *Opening Ceremony**Welcome Address* - Atty. Ponciano B.P. Pineda*Address* - Dr. Alejandrino Q. Perez*Keynote Address* - President Ferdinand E. Marcos

## TUESDAY DECEMBER 17, 1974

## Morning

8:10 - 8:20 - *Procedural Matters* - Prof. Alfonso O. Santiago8:20 - 9:20 - *Plenary Session I**Speaker:* Atty. Ponciano B.P. Pineda*Paper:* Dictionary in the Making: A Step towards  
the Standardisation of Pilipino*Chairman:* Dr. Fe T. Otones*Rapporteur:* Mrs. Erlinda Rivera9:20 - 9:40 - *Coffee Break*9:40 - 10:40 - *Plenary Session II**Speaker:* Dr. S. Takdir Alisjabana*Paper:* The Concept of Language Standardisation and  
its Application to the Indonesian Language*Chairman:* Dr. Bonifacio P. Sibayan*Rapporteur:* Dr. Abdullah Hassan10:40 - 11:40 - *Plenary Session III**Speaker:* Dr. Abdullah Hassan*Paper:* Dictionary Making and the Standardisation  
of Bahasa Malaysia*Chairman:* Dr. Amran Halim*Rapporteur:* Miss Thilagawathi Kanagaretnam

## Afternoon

1:00 - 2:00 - *Plenary Session IV**Speaker:* Dr. Hengtse Tu*Paper:* The Problems of a Standard Romanisation  
System of Mandarin Chinese*Chairman:* Prof. Wu Ching-Hong*Rapporteur:* Miss Remedios Javier

## TUESDAY DECEMBER 17, 1974

## Afternoon

2:00 - 3:00 - *Plenary Session V*

Speaker: Mr. Takuji Sasaki

Paper: On the Standardisation of Languages

Chairman: Dr. Virgilio Enriquez

Rapporteur: Mr. Rene Romero

3:00 - 3:20 - *Coffee Break*3:20 - 4:20 - *Plenary Session VI*

Speaker: Yahaya bin Ismail

Paper: The National Language and Literature of  
Malaysia

Chairman: Dr. Hans Kaehler

Rapporteur: Mr. Alberto Racho

3:20 - 4:20 - *Plenary Session VII*

Speaker: Mr. Lars S. Vikor

Paper: Language Standardisation and Nationalism

Chairman: Mrs. Avelina S. Espelita

Rapporteur: Mrs. Nenita P. Papa

## WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 18, 1974

## Morning

8:10 - 9:10 - *Plenary Session VIII*

Speaker: Br. Andrew Gonzales, FSC, Ph.D

Paper: 'The Social Context for the Dissemination of  
Pilipino: A First Step towards Standard-  
isation.

Chairman: Dr. Fe T. Otones

Rapporteur: Mrs. Nenita P. Papa

9:10 - 10:10 - *Plenary Session IX*

Speaker: Mrs. Astuti Hendrato-Darmosugito

Paper: Development of Regional Language within the  
Framework of the Development of the  
Indonesian Language

Chairman: Dr. David John Prentice

Rapporteur: Prof. Emma S. Castillo

10:10 - 10:30 - *Coffee Break*

## WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 18, 1974

## Morning

10:30 - 11:30 - *Plenary Session X*

Speaker: Dr. Fe T. Otañes

Paper: The Standardisation of Science Terms in  
Pilipino

Chairman: Dr. Ernesto Constantino

Rapporteur: Mrs. Erlinda Rivera

## Afternoon

1:00 - 2:00 - *Plenary Session XI*

Speaker: Dr. Sisir Kumar Das

Paper: The Standardisation of Hindi and Bengali

Chairman: Mr. Mozammel Haque Khan

Rapporteur: Mrs. Deni G. Wasan

2:00 - 3:00 - *Plenary Session XII*

Speaker: Mr. Mozammel Haque Khan

Paper: The National Language of Bangladesh: Bengali

Chairman: Dr. Sisir Kumar Das

Rapporteur: Miss Thilagawathi Kanagaretnam

3:00 - 3:20 - *Coffee Break*3:20 - 4:20 - *Plenary Session XIII*

Speaker: Dr. Virgilio Enriquez

Paper: The Standardisation of the Psychological  
Terms in Pilipino

Chairman: Dr. Nelia Casambre

Rapporteur: Mrs. Erlinda Rivera

4:20 - 5:20 - *Plenary Session XIV*

Speaker: Dr. Robert D. Wilson

Paper: The Standardisation of Bilingualism

Chairman: Dr. Al Q. Perez

Rapporteur: Mrs. Emma S. Castillo

## THURSDAY DECEMBER 19, 1974

## Morning

8:10 - 9:10 - *Plenary Session XV*

Speaker: Miss Thilagawathi Kanagaretnam

Paper: Some Problems Concerning the Alphabetic and  
Phonemic Systems of Tamil

Chairman: Dr. Sisir Kumar Das

Rapporteur: Mr. Mozammel Haque Khan

THURSDAY DECEMBER 19, 1974

**Morning**

9:10 - 10:10 - *Plenary Session XVI*

Speaker: Dr. Ernesto Constantino

Paper: The Development and Standardisation of the  
Filipino Language

Chairman: Dr. Virgilio Enriquez

Rapporteur: Dr. Abdullah Hassan

10:10 - 10:30 - *Coffee Break*

10:30 - 11:30 - *Plenary Session XVII*

Speaker: Dr. David John Prentice

Paper: The Role of Malay in Sabah

Chairman: Dr. Abdullah Hasaan

Rapporteur: Dr. Romeo V. Carleta

**Afternoon**

1:00 - 2:00 - *Plenary Session XVIII*

Speaker: Dr. S.W. Rudiati Muljadi

Paper: The Standardisation of Bahasa Indonesia

Chairman: Dir. Ponciano B.P. Pineda

Rapporteur: Miss Norlina Mama

2:00 - 3:00 - *Plenary Session XIX*

Speaker: Mr. Wissanu Rawangking

Paper: The Use of Standard Thai in Schools

Chairman: Mr. Soulang Dejvongsa

Rapporteur: Mrs. Cecilia A. Patron

3:00 - 3:20 - *Coffee Break*

3:20 - 4:20 - *Plenary Session XX*

Speaker: Mr. John Bitu

Paper: The National and Official Languages of New  
Papua Guinea

Chairman: Dr. Nguyen Dang Liem

Rapporteur: Mrs. Astuti Hendrato-Darmosugito

4:20 - 5:20 - *Plenary Session XXI*

Speaker: Dr. Asmah Hj. Omar

Paper: The Role of Language Standardisation in the  
Coining of Technical Terms in Bahasa Malaysia

Chairman: Dir. Ponciano B.P. Pineda

Rapporteur: Mrs. Avelina S. Espelita

**FRIDAY DECEMBER 20, 1974****Morning****8:10 - 9:10 - Plenary Session XXII**

Speaker: Dr. Hans Kaehler

Paper: Standardisation and Development of News-papers Bahasa Indonesia

Chairman: Bro. Andrew Gonzales, FSC, Ph.D.

Rapporteur: Prof. Alberto Racho

**9:10 - 10:10 - Plenary Session XXIII**

Speaker: Dr. Bonifacio P. Sibayan

Paper: Language Standardisation as a Component of Language Planning: A Suggested Typology

Chairman: Dr. Ernesto Constantino

Rapporteur: Prof. Alberto Racho

**10:10 - 10:30 - Coffee Break****10:30 - 11:30 - Plenary Session XXIV**

Speakers: Dr. James R. Chamberlain

Mr. Soulang Dejvongsa

Paper: The Standardisation of Lao

Chairman: Mr. Takuji Sasaki

Rapporteur: Mr. Wissanu Rawangking

**Afternoon****1:00 - 2:00 - Plenary Session XXV**

Speaker: Dr. Jack C. Richards

Paper: Simplification: A Strategy in the Adult Acquisition of a Foreign Language: An Example from Indonesian/Malay

Chairman: Mr. John Bita

Rapporteur: Prof. Harimurti Kridalaksana

**2:00 - 3:00 - Plenary Session XXVI**

Speaker: Dr. Nelia G. Casambre

Paper: Language Teaching and Standardisation

Chairman: Mr. James R. Chamberlain

Rapporteur: Mr. Rene Romero

**3:20 - 4:20 - Plenary Session XXVII**

Speaker: Dr. Amran Halim

Paper: Some Problems on the Language Standardisation of the Major Languages of Indonesia

Chairman: Prof. Yahaya bin Ismail

Rapporteur: Dr. Nelia G. Casambre

## FRIDAY DECEMBER 20, 1974

## Afternoon

4:20 - 5:20 - *Plenary Session XXVIII*

Speaker: Prof. Harimurti Kridalaksana

Paper: Spelling Reform 1972: A Stage in the  
Process of Standardisation of Bahasa  
Indonesia

Chairman: Dr. Jack C. Richards

Rapporteur: Dr. James R. Chamberlain

## SATURDAY DECEMBER 21, 1974

## Morning

8:10 - 9:10 - *Plenary Session XXIX*

Speaker: Prof. Alfonso O. Santiago

Paper: Phonemicity of Pilipino Orthography: A  
Blessing or a Curse?

Chairman: Prof. Gloria V. Baylon

Rapporteur: Mrs. Emma S. Castillo

9:10 - 10:10 - *Plenary Session XXX*

Speaker: Dr. Al Q. Perez

Paper: The Pilipino Literature: Its Role in the  
Standardisation of Pilipino

Chairman: Atty. Ponciano B.P. Pineda

Rapporteur: Mrs. Nenita P. Papa

10:10 - 10:30 - *Coffee Break*10:30 - 11:30 - *Plenary Session XXXI*

Speaker: Dr. Nguyen Dang Liem

Paper: The National Language Policy and the  
Minority Groups in the Republic of Vietnam

Chairman: Mr. John Bitz

Rapporteur: Dr. Ernesto Constantino

## Afternoon

1:00 - 2:00 - *Plenary Session XXXII*

Speaker: Dr. Ernest W. Lee

Paper: Diglot Textbooks and Dictionaries as a Means  
to the Assimilation of the National Language  
of Viet Nam

Chairman: Prof. Araceli M. Villamin

Rapporteur: Mr. Guillermo Q. Roman, Jr.



## CLOSING CEREMONY

SATURDAY DECEMBER 21, 1974

## Afternoon

2:00 - 4:00 - Remarks - Prof. Alfonso O. Santiago

Closing Address - Dr. Alejandrino Q. Perez

Awarding of Plaque of Appreciations - Atty. Ponciano

B.P. Pineda

Awarding of Certificates - Mrs. Fermina G. Gatal

Mrs. Nenita P. Papa

# CONFERENCE OFFICIALS

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